



B. Schmidt

'O fortunate land!' : Karel van Mander, 'A West Indies Landscape', and the Dutch discovery of America

Looks at the presence of America in early Dutch visual paintings and prints, and the significant role in interpreting Americana played by Karel van Mander. Van Mander was a 16th-c. art historian, painter, poet, and translator. Van Mander's notes reveal a number of developments in Dutch perceptions of the New World and how pervasive incidental Americana had become by the late 16th c.

In: *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 69 (1995), no: 1/2, Leiden, 5-44

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

BENJAMIN SCHMIDT

“O FORTUNATE LAND!”
KAREL VAN MANDER, A *WEST INDIES LANDSCAPE*, AND
THE DUTCH DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Contrary to accepted opinion, “America” occupied not inconsiderable space in the imagination of sixteenth-century Netherlanders.¹ One burgher’s “New World” did not always coincide with that of his neighbor, yet judging from the wide variety of literary genres which discuss the newly discovered lands – travel narratives, history chronicles, political pamphlets, epic poems, and cosmographies, only to mention the most obvious – it is apparent that “America” entered the discourse of the Low Countries in a dazzling array of contexts and certainly long before any discussion of the commercial West India Company (founded in 1621) took place. The presence of America in early Netherlandish visual records presents far less evidence, yet a number of provocative paintings and prints, and the significant role in interpreting various Americana played by the pre-eminent arbiter of the precocious Dutch world of art, Karel van Mander (1548-1606), merit closer attention. Late-sixteenth-century art historian, painter, poet, translator, and all around man of letters in the burgeoning Republic, Van Mander refers to the New World a number of times in his oeuvre, including a curious passage in his *Wileggingh op den Metamorphosis* (Commentary on the *Metamorphosis*), a work which he appended to his famous *Schilder-boeck*. In a discussion of Aeneas’s rescue of his former enemy, the Greek soldier Achaemenides, from the clutches of the savage and man-eating Cyclops, Polyphemus, Van Mander offers his readers “instructive commentaries” (*leerlijcke aenwijsinghen*) on gentlemanly comportment, ancient diplomacy, and pre-Christian virtue among the Trojan heroes (Van Mander 1604f:110; and cf. Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 14.160-222). Always the classicist, Van Mander cites, first, Pliny

to demonstrate that a truly noble soul will behave benevolently and charitably toward his fellow man, whatever the latter's nationality or race, be he enemy or friend. To illustrate such enlightened behavior, Van Mander directs his reader even farther afield, this time to the "West Indians of Florida," whose "native reasonableness" (*natuerlijcke redelycheyt*) convey some of that same nobility that Ovid sought to praise in Aeneas. "It is also worth noting," he writes,

that which the French gentleman Michel de Montaigne relates, namely, that he saw in Rouen two West Indians from Florida who were wonderfully astonished to see some of the rich people with their great and stately houses, clothing, and plentiful food; and in front of these houses, others, naked and hungry, begging for bits of bread. And the Indians saw that the inhabitants of these inhuman lands did not have it as good as they did in their more reasonable lands, which were veritable Elysian fields. There they lived among one another in greater harmony, equality, and peace, and with greater affection; they lived quite agreeably, singing and dancing, the Elders passing their time in discussion, the younger men hunting for the community meal, day turning into night, innocently and genuinely. They are satisfied with but a trifle, just as the poets describe the people of the Golden Age.²

Brief though they may be, Van Mander's notes on the American scene reveal a number of developments in Dutch perceptions of the New World at the precise moment that the United Provinces was about to embark on its own "Golden Age." First, Van Mander's comments demonstrate just how pervasive incidental Americana had become by the late sixteenth century. To be sure, his New World exemplum does not really apply here – the visiting "Floridians'" observations of French poverty and social inequality in the time of Montaigne has really very little to do with Aeneas's treatment of his former foe, Achaemenides. Yet if the analogy seems a bit far-fetched (literally), it does reveal Van Mander's apparent interest in flaunting his new found knowledge of the New World. Knowledge of America, apparently, distinguished a well-read critic from the pack.³ Second, the anecdote also says something about the state of that knowledge: in a word, chaotic. For, though Montaigne's famous essay, *Des cannibales*, relates the philosopher's encounter with visiting Amerindians in Rouen, both Montaigne and the contemporary pamphlet literature and prints describing the extraordinary *fête brésilienne* make abundantly clear that the natives came from "Brazil" and that, between singing and dancing, they also passed their time waging war and gorging on one another – hardly the Elysian repose of Van Mander's "Floridians." Van Mander's reference to *West-Indianen van Florida* betrays, perhaps, a

more topical interest in the recent *affaire Floride* – reported in numerous Dutch pamphlets and travel accounts in the later sixteenth century – wherein Spanish troops sacked the French Protestant colony of Fort Caroline, killing the Huguenot warrior Jean Ribault in the process. Florida would have quite naturally been on the mind of Van Mander as well as many of his Protestant countrymen.⁴

Finally, Van Mander's American aside also conveys some of the author's personal views of the New World – *O seer gheluckich Lant!* (Oh fortunate land!), as he terms it⁵ – which registers a pastoral landscape of noble, if naked, citizens of a utopian paradise who seem not the least bit savage. (Van Mander actually concludes the section, like Montaigne, with a reference to the utopias of Plato and Sir Thomas More.) The real savages, observes Van Mander (1604f:110v) in the continuation of the passage cited, inhabit the Old World, and can be found amidst the less than “lordly” (*heerlyck*) nobles of Europe among us, the owners of “unhealthy souls,” the legislators of burdensome laws, the bearers of iron shackles, the wagers of destructive wars. And here one cannot but recall that not only did contemporary *France* find itself in the throes of the Wars of Religion, but the Netherlands, at the time of Van Mander's writing, was mired in its own bloody war of attrition against Philip II, king of Spain, lord of the Netherlands, and master of the New World.

FIRST SIGHTS

Composed in the twilight of the sixteenth century, Van Mander's notes on America followed Columbus's historic voyage by some one hundred years. Never having been to America himself, Van Mander fashioned his image of the New World from those materials most readily available to a land-lubbing and text-loving Dutch humanist. Much like the rest of Europe, the Netherlands learned about the New World from the carefully crafted public “letters” and reports issued in the wake of the discoveries, some translated into Dutch, others into French, and many preserved in Latin, the lingua franca among learned circles of the North. Indeed, news of the New World arrived in the Low Countries relatively quickly and in surprising abundance. From the start, America seems to have found a broadly receptive audience among readers of the Netherlands who avidly consumed the earliest Americana. “These islands [recently discovered] are wondrous to describe,” wrote a leading humanist of Holland already in the first years of the sixteenth century, “but there are already books written on them,” and, in his opinion, the plethora of print made further comment

unnecessary (Aurelius 1517:279). Those books referred to would have included editions of Columbus and Vespucci which appeared in Antwerp already within months of their original publication. Other works of the first generation of conquistadors and chroniclers soon followed. Cortés's letters to Charles V, Gómara's chronicle of Mexico, and Cieza de León's description of Peru all came off the presses of the Low Countries almost simultaneously with their publication in Spain. The narratives of Agustín de Zárate (Peru) and Hans Staden (Brazil) went through more editions in Dutch than in any other language, including those of their original composition.⁶ All these and more filled the libraries of the Netherlands in impressive proportions. Well over half of the oldest printed catalogues of private libraries in the Northern Netherlands list books on the New World among their collections. Americana, moreover, featured twice as frequently in these collections as works on Asia. This contrasts sharply with the famously cited example of France, where four times as many books focused on Asia than on America during the period 1480-1609. Assuming that books printed and collected amount to books read and digested, the case of the Netherlands upsets commonly held assumptions about the impact of the New World on the Old by demonstrating the Dutch interest in, rather than indifference to, America.⁷

That printed accounts of foreign discoveries fell on fertile ground in the Netherlands should come as no surprise. Antwerp, the printing center of sixteenth-century Northern Europe and the home of a highly literate collection of international merchants and Habsburg civil servants, was ideally suited to convey the latest tidings from overseas. More generally, the economic and cultural development of the northwest corner of Europe on the eve of the Discovery provided an ideal setting for the reception of the voyagers' finds. The flourishing market economy of late medieval Flanders fostered a keen interest in overseas trade and gave every reason to follow the results of the Western enterprise. Moreover, with the rise of the towns came the parallel developments of a civic culture, an "urban literature," and a highly urbane class of readers interested in, and capable of, reading travel literature in Dutch, French, and Latin. Printers and publishers of early Americana easily prospered in this culture of readers and traders.⁸

Word of the first sightings of Columbus came off the presses already in 1493 and provided readers with a glimpse of the wondrous harbors, rivers, and hamlets, the lovely pine groves, pastures, and mountains, and the "marvelously timorous" natives of the West Indies (Columbus 1493).⁹ To the mystically inclined Columbus and, undoubtedly, to many of his readers, the New World's pastoral idyll evoked images of the elusive earthly paradise. To city-dwelling Netherlanders, the mellifluous singing of

nightingales and "other birds of a thousand kinds" (Columbus 1988:6) must have resonated with particular charm, echoing, as it did, the naturalism that featured prominently in late-medieval Dutch literature. The marvelous mingled quite easily, too, with the monstrous, and despite Columbus's (1988:14) contention that "in these islands I have so far found no human monstrosities, as many expected," reports of man-eating Caribs would have persuaded many readers otherwise. Certainly some of the American novelties approximated the Asian exotica discovered by that dubious medieval "traveler," Sir John Mandeville. One of the many Dutch editions of "Ian van Mandevil" came out, in fact, in 1494 and presumably ended up in some of the very libraries of the readers of Columbus's account (Bennett 1954:372).¹⁰

In the *Mundus novus* and *Quatuor navigationes* of Amerigo Vespucci, printed an astonishing sixty times between 1503 and 1529 – that is, almost three times as frequently as the *Epistola* of Columbus (Hirsch 1976:538; Alden & Landis 1980-88) – wonders, literally, never ceased. To that wily beef contractor turned discoverer who contrived to become America's namesake, the New World represented a land of endless novelties and limitless potential, of seductive riches and dangerous monsters, of luscious fruit and lascivious women. It partook in the fabulous as well as the ferocious, exotic landscapes alternating with Edenic. Amazonian warriors held cannibal feasts, seduced unsuspecting Christian sailors, and lorded over unchristian quantities of gold, pearls, and treasure.¹¹ If the "entirely new world" reported by Vespucci presented a somewhat confusing picture, this would have been all the more the case for readers in the Low Countries. An Antwerp "Vespucius" appeared as early as 1505 in Latin, followed by a vernacular version in 1506-07. Jan van Doesborch, the publisher of the Dutch edition, also put out a provocatively titled *De novo mondo* in 1510, which included a one page précis of Vespucci's "Letter on his Third Voyage" (containing the word "Armenica"), followed by an account of Balthasar Springer's travels to the East Indies under the command of Francisco d'Aleida. It concluded with a one page abridgment (intended, perhaps, to fill the final verso) of Vespucci's chapter on cosmography extracted from the 1507 *Cosmographia* of Martin Waldseemüller. Doesborch reissued this hybrid work in 1522, this time bearing the English title *Of the newe landes and of ye people found by the kynge of Portygale*. (The 1510 edition is in Latin.) Both these works were presumably based on the more aptly titled Flemish work of 1508, *Die reyse van Lissabone* (The voyage from Lisbon). All of this produced a curious kaleidoscope of things "American," things Asian, and, naturally, things imaginary which informed the description of both. Evidently,

publishers of early Americana, at least in the Low Countries, placed little stock in what we might call geographic precision.¹²

The first complete "history" of the New World came from the pen of the Italian humanist, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, a Milanese nobleman in the employ of the Spanish Crown. Like most Italian-born men of his class and station, Martyr received a humanist education; and in composing his *De orbe novo* – also called the *Decades* and published in Antwerp in 1536¹³ – he tried to describe the New World in terms that made sense to other, similarly inclined Renaissance readers. Martyr's rendition of America evokes the spirit of Renaissance humanism, resplendent, as it is, with images of antiquity and suffused by a pastoral, almost Platonic vision of a utopian land blessed with the bountiful gifts of nature and filled with an unspoiled population of innocents "living in a golden age."

It is proven that amongst them the land belongs to everybody, just as does the sun or the water. They know no difference between *meum* and *tuum*, that source of all evils. It requires so little to satisfy them, that in that vast region there is always more land to cultivate than is needed. It is indeed a golden age, neither ditches, nor hedges, nor walls enclose their domains; they live in gardens open to all, without laws and without judges; their conduct is naturally equitable. (Anghiera 1912, I:103-4)¹⁴

The Spaniards, for their part, could also be clad in the venerable robes of antiquity, such as the powerful conquistador Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who earns from Martyr a comparison with the heroic Hercules. Yet more often than not, the Spanish play the less noble role of invaders and "anxious hunters," given to "torturing, strangling, decapitating, and, in divers other ways, killing people on the most trifling pretexts." They are "envious, proud, and intolerable tyrants," according to the Italian humanist; they represented the dark, brooding intruders, men from an Age of Iron capable of epic deeds of violence and rapacity (Anghiera 1912, I:141). In the hands of Martyr, "America" loses some of the fantastic hues of earlier descriptions, if only to gain a different luster, this time the glow of the Golden Age. He portrays a New World that preserves a civilization long passed, an Ovidian paradise, peaceful, bountiful, indeed utopian, and only recently disturbed by the iron-clad Spanish men of "fire and sword."

Martyr's *De orbe novo* appealed, presumably, to an educated, Latin-reading public, and it is hardly surprising that, in the humanist circles of the Netherlands at least, no vernacular translation was apparently deemed necessary. A Dutch-reading public with an appetite for "fire and sword," however, could turn to other genres of Americana to satisfy their curiosity. Hernán Cortés's *Cartas de relación* (1522), printed in Antwerp within a

year of its original Spanish publication, related the daring exploits and chivalric deeds of its larger than life hero.¹⁵ For the first time a Spanish author reported Spanish feats in Spanish America. By all indications, the knightly tests passed by the warrior-hero, Cortés, proved supremely attractive to the wider European audiences who read the Spanish adventure in America much as they might have read the popular romances of chivalry of the sixteenth century.¹⁶ Agustín de Zárate's account of the conquest of Peru would have exercised the same sort of appeal on readers on both sides of the Pyrenees. The ringing of Pizarro swords and the thrusting of Almagro lances had less to do with the conquest of America than with the clashing of hidalgo daring in a Spanish adventure of (dis)honor and intrigue. The Peruvian highlands provided but a slightly more exotic backdrop than the Castilian plains; the "wild west" displaced an already tamed Andalucía. Netherlandish readers proved hardly immune to this sort of diversion. Published originally in Antwerp in 1555 – Zárate served his Habsburg patrons as *contrador* (accountant general) in the Netherlands – the *Wonderlijcke ende warachtighe Historie vant Conick-rijck van Peru* (The true and amazing history of the kingdom of Peru) went through five more editions in Dutch and two in Latin (both published in Antwerp) before the end of the sixteenth century, placing it, in the Netherlands at least, among the all-time bestsellers of the literature of discovery.¹⁷

A BROADENING VISION

By the middle of the sixteenth century, readers of the Low Countries could turn to a variety of works on the New World written primarily by Italian and Spanish authors and translated and made available for a wider European audience. The publications of the coming years, however, introduced Dutch readers to a new sort of literature, namely, works composed by Northern European authors, often with a Protestant orientation, and sometimes with a strongly anti-Spanish bias. The new Americana reflected a number of developments, including the growing influence of the Reformation, the increasing involvement of Valois France in the New World enterprise, and the widening role of the Spanish Habsburg monarch as master of the New World riches and guardian of Old World Catholicism. It also indicated a growing awareness by publicists of the use of American themes for European polemics.

Some of these developments explain the tremendous popularity, especially in the Low Countries, of the first Northern European work on America, Hans Staden's *Warhaftige historia* (1557).¹⁸ A German gunner

in the employ of the Portuguese, Staden set out for South America in 1549, only to return five years later having spent almost half of his sojourn as a captive of the Tupinamba of Brazil. His vivid description of his adventures there contains enough "traditional" elements – a dangerous encounter with savages, spiced by racy intercultural interludes, and all set in exotic Amazonian forests – to account for its extraordinarily wide readership. Staden improves on the native-as-cannibal theme by placing *himself* in the position of the object of the Tupi's anthropophagist desires, and his description of his captivity lingers deliberately, it would seem, on the suspense-filled period leading up to his ultimate (non)eating and on the less fortunate fate of other captives-turned-banquets. Staden survives his ordeal, by his own admission, through a combination of solemn perseverance and simple piety, and his emphasis on a very personal brand of Christian virtue might explain the work's especial success among readers of the North. For Staden's was not only among the first accounts of America by a non-Catholic; it was also in many identifiable ways a *Protestant* text. Unlike previous accounts, which also had their share of religious homilies, Staden's history can be distinguished by its Protestant emphasis on the author's direct relationship with God; by the author's recognition of the futility of seeking any religious intermediaries in place of God; and by the special, personal significance for the author of the life and the death of Christ. Staden, thus, compares his own ordeal to the "mocking" of the condemned Christ, and includes throughout the account a number of pious prayers and "hymns," addressed "to God alone." In an explanatory preface to the work by a *Landsmann* of Staden's, the Marburg physician Dryandus, the latter notes with thinly veiled contempt that "some hitherto among the papists invoke this saint or that holy one, vowing pilgrimages or offerings that they may be saved from their perils." Staden, in contrast, gave during his ordeal "honor and praise to God alone, and in all Christian humility." Staden's survival, concludes Dryandus, serves as a testament to the superiority of the new brand of Protestant piety (Staden 1928:27-28).

It would be naive to accept Staden's own assertion that his aims in the *Historia* are merely pietistic, or, for that matter, to consider the work exclusively within the context of the Reformation. Both these claims might hold more truth, however, for the description of Brazil by the Huguenot pastor, Jean de Léry, whose *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1578) falls more solidly into the polemical tradition of the mid-sixteenth century. The work became an instant Calvinist classic, going through seven French-language printings during the author's lifetime. Its prompt translation into Latin, German, Dutch, and English, and its incorporation by Theodore de Bry in his widely circulated collection *Americae*

(*Grands Voyages*) insured it a spot in the broader Protestant canon of anti-Catholic literature. It was, in fact, cited repeatedly by Dutch authors concerned with America.¹⁹

Léry, a battle-scarred veteran of the French wars of religion, received his training in the seminaries of Calvin's Geneva, which he left in 1556 to join the French colonial endeavor in Brazil under the leadership of Nicholas Durand, chevalier de Villegagnon. The colony fared badly and was forced to retreat within three years under the pressure of Iberian fire. Léry, though, did not even last this long, forced to flee under the guns of Villegagnon himself, who accused Léry, along with the rest of the colony's Calvinist party, of sedition.²⁰ Upon his return, the impassioned Léry composed *La persecution des fideles en terre d'Amerique* (1561) and later the more ambitious account of the colony, with a description of the land and people of Brazil, *Histoire d'un voyage*.²¹

In both of Léry's accounts, the blame for the colony's failure falls on Villegagnon, in particular, and the corrupt Catholic-Guise party, in general. Léry spares no words in vilifying Villegagnon, a backsliding Catholic, who appears the very whore of Babylon relocated in Brazil. His pompous attire, swaggering arrogance, and fits of violence, particularly against the Calvinist ministers and other "good Christians," earns him Léry's utmost scorn: he is an "Orlando Furioso against those of the Reformed religion." Furthermore, his "false" prayers, poisonous pride, and unholy Mass earn him eternal damnation: he is "the Cain of America" (Léry 1990:47, 218). To emphasize these religious failings and to ridicule, especially, the hotly disputed celebration of the Lord's Supper, Léry weaves into his description of the Tupinamba a parallel criticism of those other "cannibals," the French Catholics, who partake of the Lord's flesh and blood with savage ignorance and superstition. The Amerindian feasts of flesh take on a whole new meaning for Léry, who juxtaposes these to the figurative cannibalism implied by the Catholic rites, to the very real violence of the Parisian and Lyonnaise mobs (who reputedly devoured the hearts and livers of their mutilated Huguenot victims), and to the "blood sucking" usury and other sins of the villainous Guise party. "So let us henceforth," he concludes his chapter on Tupi cannibalism,

no longer abhor so very greatly the cruelty of the anthropophagous – that is, man-eating – savages. For since there are some here in our midst even worse and more detestable than those who, as we have seen, attack only enemy nations, while the ones over here [France] have plunged into the blood of their kinsmen, neighbors, and compatriots, one need not go beyond one's own country, nor as far as America, to see such monstrous and prodigious things.²²

Léry was not alone in transplanting to the soil of the New World the political and religious seeds of discord of the Old. The next chapter in France's adventure in America, the so called *affaire Floride*, occasioned a flood of pamphlets and "histories" which likewise exploited events overseas to score propaganda points at home. Once again, the martyred colonists, this time settled on the Florida peninsula, belonged to the long-suffering Huguenot party. In this instance, however, their tormentors derived from the Catholic subjects of the Most Catholic King, Philip II of Spain. Nicolas Le Challeux, a "simple carpenter," as all the sources describe him, of obscure Huguenot background, claimed to have witnessed the "massacre" at Fort Caroline in 1565, and survived to tell the dramatic story of gruesome slaughter and Spanish treachery (Le Challeux 1566).²³ Le Challeux's popular pamphlet – it went through six printings in 1566 alone – combined a number of well-tried formulae. On the one hand, like Staden's account, it contained numerous pious and largely Protestant gestures, including passages meant to appeal to specifically Calvinist readers. Thus, the narrator attributes his own miraculous survival, pointedly, neither to the intercession of any saint, nor to his own "feeble" abilities, but rather to the "special Grace" of God. On the other hand, the narrative revels in the lurid details of Spanish/Catholic tyrannies, their "pitiful" and "extreme cruelty[ies]," and their "horrible, tragic slaughter of [French] forces ... healthy and sick, women and children." Spanish savagery, in fact, calls to mind some of the descriptions in earlier accounts of the most wild fits of native American fury. In a somewhat gratuitously gore-filled passage, Le Challeux sensationalizes Spanish cruelties in much the same way that earlier writers had treated "American" – that is, Indian – violence. "They plucked out the eyes from the dead bodies, stuck them on their dagger points, and with exclamations, taunts, and mocking, threw them at the [escaping] boats," he writes of the barbarous Spanish troops. Interestingly, the Spanish here have assumed the maim and mock tactics that had generally been ascribed to the Indians. Le Challeux preserves America as the home of the savage, yet recasts the Spaniard as the primary perpetrator of barbarities (Le Challeux 1965:100-6).

To portray America as the landscape of Spanish tyranny seems, in retrospect, hardly a stroke of originality. Surprisingly, though, up until the middle of the sixteenth century, few outside of French Calvinist circles showed much inclination to wage a war of words against Spain and to use, specifically, descriptions of America as a means thereto. Even in the literature of the Huguenots, the *Catholic* menace, French or Iberian, loomed larger than a specifically *Spanish* foe. Much of this changed, though, after the middle of the century, when not only Le Challeux's

pamphlet began to circulate, but another, more substantial and more broadly accessible work first appeared: Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del mondo nuovo*, a singularly despondent, pessimistic, anti-chivalric, and, above all, anti-Hispanic description of the New World which, as it would turn out, would have particular significance within the Dutch context.²⁴

Benzoni, like his compatriot Peter Martyr, hailed from the duchy of Milan, a territory that, by the mid-sixteenth century, had joined the New World as part of the Spanish empire. Unlike Martyr, he lacked all but the most basic education, and he sailed to the New World aiming to make his fortune rather than write it. His is very much a soldierly account in contrast to Martyr's scholarly opus. Still, on many points they ended up in agreement. Neither, for example, fostered much sympathy for the Indians. For Benzoni, as for Martyr, the native Caribbeans could appear "savage," "monstrous," and at times "mere brute animals or beasts." Such sentiments notwithstanding, Benzoni could also describe some of the islanders in terms that, if not quite as Ovidian as the language in Martyr's *De orbe novo*, recall nonetheless some of the humanist's descriptions of an American golden age of innocence and peace. "Some say that these people were very great thieves," writes Benzoni (1857:83) of certain islanders,

[B]ut what could they steal? They are neither avaricious nor rich, and what they least prized was gold and silver, since whoever [sic] wished for any could go to the mine and get as much as they liked, as people do at a spring of water. Respecting clothing, they all go naked; as to eatables everybody gives to whoever goes to his house. And whenever they assemble at their festivals, the whole tribe brings eatables, and they sing and dance till they get drunk and are tired; and so they freely pass a happy time. I cannot imagine thieving among them, unless they learned the art ... from the Spaniards.

In this discourse on the nature of the Amerindian, Benzoni deftly commingles two visions of the New World. For while he evokes all the essential ingredients of a golden age – lack of greed, absence of clothing (or the dressings of burdensome laws), indiscrete ownership of property – he also suggests the possibility of an alternative scenario – intemperance, avarice, and thieving. The Indians merit praise precisely for their *absence* of sin; and it takes very little imagination to infer who might introduce and stimulate sin and depravity. Benzoni was a soldier and not a humanist, and, unlike Martyr's, his account inclines less toward the Ovidian landscape of innocent and uncorrupted Indians than to the spectacle of pitiless and brutal conquistadors. Neither in the pay of the Spanish Crown nor in the thrall of classical learning, Benzoni enjoyed a freedom of expression

unknown to his courtly predecessor. Himself something of a swashbuckler, Benzoni participated – by his own admission – in some of the very Spanish cruelties he describes (especially the slave raids on the Caribbean islands), and was, in this sense, too, singularly suited to catalog the same. This he does with the discipline and sobriety of a soldier and with the obvious relish and ill-will of a freshly humbled, Spanish-hating Milanese. The Spanish in Benzoni's *Mondo nuovo* commit savage cruelties and behave with beastly and brutal rapacity. They "jump out like wolves" to attack unsuspecting natives who, in passive innocence, fall "like so many lambs." They "burn," "ambush," and "ravage" their way through the countryside in their relentless search for gold and silver; and they "consume everything" in their path, men, women, and children, not unlike the insatiable Aztec gods whom they hastily destroy. Cortés, according to Benzoni, tortures "by slow degrees" an unyielding secretary of Montecucuma; while Pizarro's assistant, "the monk," urges the Spanish soldiers "to kill by thrusts, lest by using the sharp edge of their swords they might break them." Benzoni reserves some of his harshest criticism for the Spanish settlers who invent ever more grisly means to torment their slaves:

And there being among the Spaniards some who are not only cruel, but very cruel, when a man occasionally wished to punish a slave, either for some crime that he had committed, or for not having done a good day's work, or for spite he had towards him ... he had his hands and feet tied to a piece of wood laid across, so permitted under the rule of the Spaniards ... then with a thong or rope he was beaten until his body streamed with blood; which done, they took a pound of pitch or a pipkin of boiling oil and threw it gradually all over the unfortunate victim; then he was washed with some of the country pepper mixed with salt and water. He was thus left on a plank covered with a cloth, until the master thought he was again able to work.²⁵

"At the heart of this American darkness resides the Spanish nation," to which Benzoni returns time and again. Their "unbearable arrogance," their internecine violence, and their insatiable lust for women, wealth, and war cast a dark shadow over the reputation of good Christians everywhere. "Seeing our greed," notes Benzoni wryly,

there are some among the [natives] who, taking a piece of gold in their hand, say, "This is the God of the Christians; for this they have come from Castile to our countries, and subjugated us, tormented us, and sold us as slaves, besides doing us many other injuries. For this they make war and kill each other; for this it is that they are never at rest; that they gamble, swear, tell lies, quarrel, rob, tear the women away from each other ... for this they commit every sort of wickedness."²⁶

And for this ungodly behavior, adds the author, the Spanish nation deserves our utmost opprobrium.

Benzoni's Hispanophobia is striking. It can be explained, in part, by his actual experiences in Spanish America, both as a slave trader and as a hardened veteran of the *Conquista*. Yet a certain amount of the author's rancor owes something to the context of the account and to attitudes formulated back in Europe. Indeed, Spain's conquest of the New World coincided with a similar plan of expansion in the Old. The concomitant Habsburg plundering of the treasure houses of Italy and America during the sixteenth century make it only natural that the Italian-born Benzoni might have adopted a somewhat skeptical, if not cynical, view of Spain's dubious mission overseas. It could hardly have escaped the attention of contemporaries that a few years after Cortés staged Montecuçoma's oath of loyalty to the Habsburg emperor (1519) the very same Charles V and his Spanish officers orchestrated the sack of Rome (1527). Lombardy fell to the Spanish, in fact, only months after the empire of Peru. Just prior to the publication of the *Mondo nuovo* appeared a very popular *Istoria d'Italia* which provided vivid descriptions of the Spanish conquest of Prato (outside of Florence) in 1512, and the subsequent barbarities of the Habsburg-sponsored *Landsknechten* in the following decades. The author of this work, the distinguished historian Francesco Guicciardini, took a similarly dim view of the transalpine aims of an expansive Habsburg empire. Benzoni told a familiar tale, only this time with a transatlantic focus.²⁷

Benzoni's rendition of America, while sharing many features of earlier and contemporary accounts, established a fully new standard for the genre and set the tone for many of the accounts that would follow. It combined all of the high-minded indignation of Martyr without excluding the luridly "low-brow" details of Staden. It demonstrated, as did Léry's account, a considerable degree of sympathy for the tormented, if heathen, Indians, while avoiding many of the Calvinist minister's provincialism, not to mention the Gallicentrism of Le Challeux. Above all, it painted a thoroughly anti-Spanish picture of the New World, which surpassed all others in the intensity and the focus of its Hispanophobia. It thereby introduced many of the elements that would later feature in the numerous assaults on the Spanish character – the so called Black Legend – that proved so popular throughout the late-sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.²⁸

In its day, too, the *Mondo nuovo* was popular, in fact, extraordinarily popular. Whatever Benzoni's personal motives for designing his account, it found a wide and receptive audience among readers on both sides of the Alps who, with a variety of Americana to choose from, responded with enthusiasm to the Spain-bashing of the Milanese soldier. First published in

Venice in 1565 (twice), the *Historia del mondo nuovo* attracted sufficient interest to merit a prompt second printing in 1572. Understandably, the Spanish showed little inclination to translate or to publish the work, yet by the late 1570s Benzoni's narrative exploded onto the rest of the European literary market as few works of the New World had ever done before. In 1578, a Latin edition came off the presses of Calvinist Geneva, and at least four further Latin editions appeared by 1600. A widely read French edition, also published in Geneva, came out in 1579, the same year a German translation, published in Basel, began to circulate. This German edition was printed repeatedly in the following years, individually and as part of Theodore de Bry's anthology *Americae* from 1594. A Dutch-language edition, translated from the Italian by none other than the eminent Karel van Mander, was published in 1610.²⁹ Since Van Mander died in 1606 and had been working on his famous *Schilder-boeck* during the final years of his life, there is reason to believe that a manuscript of the translation had been available already for some time and perhaps even circulated among Van Mander's literary and artistic colleagues in Haarlem in the latter years of the sixteenth century.

Van Mander's role in the early history of Dutch Americana is intriguing. A man of his stature exercised influence not only in the world of art, but also in the broader, socio-political circles of his adopted city of Haarlem and later in Amsterdam (1603-1606). His collaboration with Benzoni appears, at first glance, somewhat curious. As a young man, Van Mander had made a pilgrimage to Rome, touring other parts of Italy and returning by way of Bohemia and Germany. It was in Italy that he would have come across Benzoni's work (published the year before his arrival in 1573) and also perfected his language skills sufficiently to translate into Dutch numerous Italian and Latin works of literature. Van Mander does not mention coming across any Americana in the courts of the South; yet, upon his return, he does come into contact with what has been considered the first landscape of the New World. Van Mander, as it turns out, not only served as translator of the "most popular work" on the New World, but he also provided the only description – a "translation," one might call it – of what is considered the first and only painting of the New World to be produced in the sixteenth century, the *West Indies Landscape* of Jan Mostaert.³⁰

MOSTAERT AND HIS CRITICS

Though the New World had received a fair amount of attention from cosmographers, historians, and even poets, it only sporadically and

incidentally entered the works of the visual artists of the Renaissance.³¹ There existed, certainly, a minority of travelers and scholars who recognized the importance of creating a visual record of the New World. "It needs to be painted by the hand of a Berruguete or some other painter like him, or by Leonardo da Vinci or Andrea Mantegna, famous painters whom I knew in Italy," wrote the naturalist Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in 1535 (cf. Honour 1975a:1). This plea, however, remained largely unanswered. In the 1570s, the physician Francisco Hernández took a team of scholars, draftsmen, and painters with him on an expedition to Mexico, yet their results remained unpublished, destroyed by a fire in 1671; and by the early nineteenth century, Alexander von Humboldt would make an appeal similar to Oviedo's to the artists of his day.³² To a certain degree, crude woodblock prints and, later, more sophisticated engravings partly filled the visual gap. Prints normally accompanied the travel literature and often showed great similarities, in visual terms, to the texts they served to illustrate. Thus, sensationalist and often lurid depictions occur quite frequently in the earliest broadsides and pamphlets reporting the discoveries. A German edition of Vespucci issued in 1509, for example, contained a number of woodcuts, one displaying the seduction and murder of a "good-looking" European sailor by local Amazons, another showing a Brazilian indifferently urinating beside a New World-style barbecue of human flesh. Staden's account, too, included its share of voyeuristic candids of native living habits (usually with Staden himself in a helpless, yet pious, pose), and even Léry's account carried a print of fabulous demons, dragons, and other Brazilian beasts. In Léry's account, the reader confronts the opposite sort of print, too, namely the noble, classicized representation of the savage who had a vaguely European physiognomy, had clearly European attributes, and even used European rhetorical gestures. Still more classicized are the languid figures that elegantly decorate André Thevet's *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique* (1557), a pro-Valois description of "Nova Francia" by Henri II's royal cosmographer. Based presumably on the drawings of the French Mannerist painter, Jean Cousin (1525-94), Thevet's prints elevated the Amerindian to a level of poetic nobility far above the more prosaically indifferent description of the text. Whatever Thevet's written opinions of the native Americans – and the text presents a uniformly haughty and dismissive vision of the depraved *sauvages* of Brazil and Canada – the graphic images of powerful, Renaissance bodies portrayed in graceful *contrapposto* tell a wholly different story.³³

This verbal-visual hodge-podge was not uncommon, and, more often than not, the earliest prints of "America" confused a variety of Old World

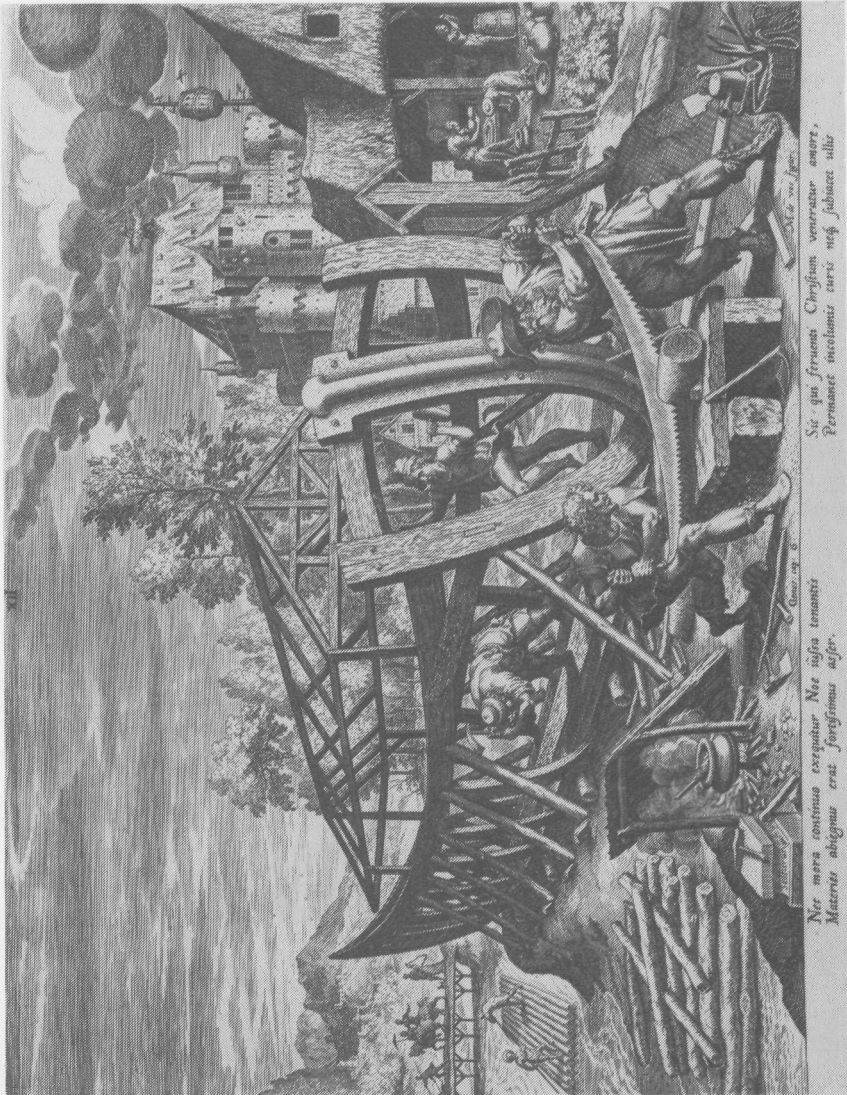


Illustration 1 : Jan Sadeler (after Marten Vos), *Building of the Ark*. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

images with New World captions. The Dutch edition of Zárate (1563:27, 29, 36, 41) illustrated the jungle wars of the Pizarros with woodcut prints from a late medieval romance of chivalry. Knights on stalwart steeds charge one another in a thoroughly European scene of gallantry.³⁴ As late as the 1590s, the great Flemish printer, Theodore de Bry adopted an Old Testament scene of the Deluge by Jan Sadeler (after Marten de Vos) to portray the shipwreck of Nicuesa off the coast of Venezuela. A cursorily added Spanish galleon in the upper right corner confirms the scene as a *New World* adventure. [Illustrations 1-2.] This lack of distinction also applies to the Amerindians, who appear, seemingly haphazardly, in a number of "oriental" prints, such as the *People of Calicut* (1517-18) after Hans Burgkmair the Elder. Thus, "Indians" of the subcontinent, wearing Brazilian feather dresses and carrying prominent stalks of maize, solemnly march behind a large-eared (that is, *African*) elephant carrying a turbaned mahout.³⁵ Burgkmair also designed the "African People" who appear in Balthasar Springer's Asian travelog, *Of the neue landes* (1522), that included introductory and concluding passages describing "Armenica."³⁶ A more elaborate version of this visual indistinction can be seen in the *Adoration of the Magi*, executed ca. 1505 for the polyptych of the Viseu Cathedral (Portugal). In the center of this triad of wise men from "the East," stands a tawny-skinned figure carrying a Tupinamba arrow and wearing various (Brazilian?) feather accessories. He is decked, however, with unquestionably European britches and an elegant blouse of gauze.³⁷

Nearly all images of native "Americans" portray stylized, classical "natives"; for only rarely did artists actually draw New World figures from genuine native models. Christopher Weiditz's unique sketches of the Mexican jugglers who visited the court of Charles V (1528) with an entourage sent by Cortés represent the exception that proves the rule, and even these drawings would never have reached a wider audience. Albrecht Dürer, who had seen the Aztec featherwork and the richly decorated gold and silver vessels of Montecuçoma, sent in 1520, "marveled at the subtle *ingenia* of men in foreign lands." He failed, however, to give expression to his admiration on canvas, copper, or wood, and the cash-hungry Charles V summarily sent the exhibition to be melted down for bullion (cf. Panofsky 1943:209 and Sturtevant 1976).³⁸ Certainly few *paintings* of the New World were ever commissioned, which says something about the seeming lack of interest on the part of sixteenth-century patrons. Charles V did retain some of the artifacts sent by Cortés, which eventually made the rounds in the various courts of the Habsburg's European empire. Some presumably ended up in the court of Charles's aunt, Margaretha of Austria, who served as the regent of the Netherlands.



Illustration 2 : Theodor de Bry, *Americae pars quarta, sive ... reperta ... à Christophoro Columbo*. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

These, in turn, may have inspired Jan Mostaert (ca.1475-1555/56), among the regent's retinue of artists, to paint what Van Mander would later call the "West Indies Landscape."

The unique subject of Mostaert's painting has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention ever since the work's identification in 1909. [Illustration 3.] Edward Weiss, who spotted the work in a private collection in Scheveningen (the Netherlands), first ascribed the work to Mostaert on the basis of Van Mander's description (Weiss 1909-10). Since then, however, the precise location and significance of the scene has been the subject of considerable speculation and controversy. In 1931, Edouard Michel suggested that Mostaert sought to depict the conquests of Cortés in Mexico during the early 1520s. He argued on that basis that the work was commissioned by the Regent Margaretha ca. 1523-25, soon after Cortés' reports reached Europe and while Mostaert was presumably still in her employ.³⁹ This argument was challenged by Remmet van Luttervelt (1948-49), who pointed out that none of the attributes of the scene concurred with the fabulous descriptions of Aztec wealth or with the reports of Montecuçoma's colorfully clad subjects. He proposed, instead, that the details of the painting conform more closely to reports of the expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, who explored the area of today's Southwestern United States in search of "Cibola," the Seven Cities of Gold. In a rather ingenious argument, Van Luttervelt located in Mostaert's landscape the pueblo huts and the stone-throwing Zuñi tribesmen that were described in Coronado's reports. The extraordinary rock formations in the background, Van Luttervelt suggested, corresponded to the geological structures of the Colorado Plateau such as Rainbow Ridge in southern Utah, and the Window Arch of Arizona, both on Coronado's possible itinerary. Coronado's reports arrived back in Europe, informally at least, from around 1542, and Van Luttervelt dates the painting accordingly ca. 1542, by which time Mostaert had already left Margaretha's court and had returned to his native Haarlem.

More recently, Erik Larsen (1970) has contended that the scene depicts neither the Zuñi of "Cibola" nor the Aztecs of Mexico, but rather the natives of Brazil. Pointing to the nudity of the subjects in the painting, Larsen reasons that Mostaert could not have intended to portray any North American tribes, since these tribes always went clothed. Based on the presence of a South American macaw perched on a stump in the foreground, Larsen proposes that the scene portrays the Tupinamba of Brazil ("land of parrots") at the moment of their fatal encounter with Portuguese forces. He further suggests that the Spanish flag on the right of the panel is only a later addition. By comparing details of the painting to

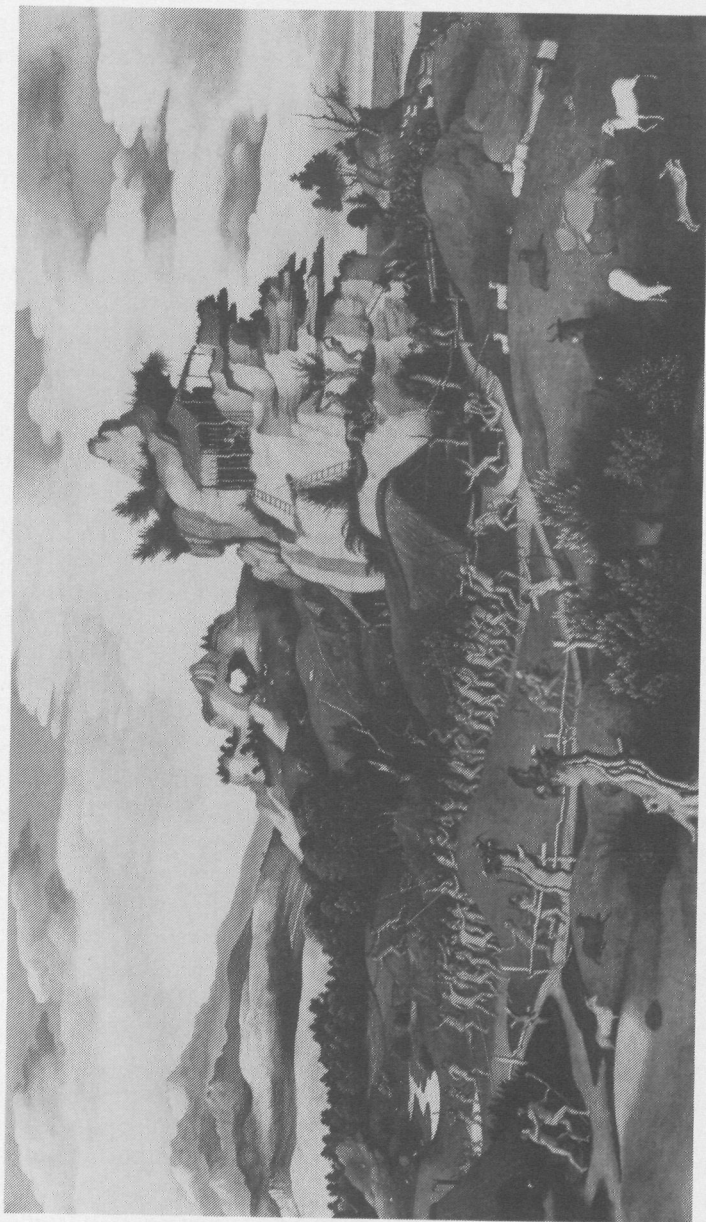


Illustration 3 : Jan Mostaert, *West Indies Landscape*. (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.)

contemporary descriptions of Brazil, especially that of Hans Staden, Larsen situates the action of the painting, more specifically, in the vicinity of the Bahia de Todos os Santos, where a series of skirmishes took place in the mid-sixteenth century. He dates the painting among the final works of Mostaert's œuvre (ca. 1550-55), coinciding, that is, with Portugal's renewed activity with her colonial inheritance in the West.⁴⁰

In the latest contribution to the debate, it is argued that the scene is not of the New World at all. Charles Cuttler (1989) calls attention to what he considers a classical column, partly hidden on the left side of the panel, and suggests that Mostaert had a patently Old World theme in mind. He cites Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut of the *Battle of Men and Satyrs* (ca. 1497-1500), which shows an Arcadian world attacked from without by an exotic invader, as Mostaert's model. It would have been at the court of the Regent Margaretha in Mechelin, where Jacopo served from 1515-20, that Mostaert could have studied this mythological scene. Relating the work to Joachim Patinir's landscape style of the 1520s, Cuttler dates this "Arcadian Landscape" ca. 1520, that is, only shortly after Mostaert's tenure with Margaretha would have ended.

Cuttler and his predecessors base their arguments on a number of assumptions about Jan Mostaert's knowledge – or lack thereof – of the discoveries and of America. They also presume, perhaps a bit rashly, that there existed a single, obvious, and sensible set of ideas that described "America." Yet, as we have seen, throughout the sixteenth century, various "Americas" competed for readers' and viewers' attention, and to reconstruct Mostaert's knowledge of the new lands is no simple task. Mostaert, who, like Van Mander, was a long-time Haarlemmer, almost certainly never made the voyage to the New World. Slightly more cosmopolitan than the average Netherlander of his age – Van Mander (1604c: 229) reports that the artist came from a "noble and famous family" – Mostaert traveled around Europe with the court of the regent, whom he served for eighteen years at Mechelin. At the court, too, he would have come into contact with New World artifacts sent by Margaretha's nephew, Charles V.⁴¹ Both at Mechelin and back home at Haarlem, he could have read the literary descriptions of the New World available at the time: the wondrous reports of Columbus, the monster-filled letters of Vespucci, and the heroic accounts of Cortés. As a member of a more learned circle of artists, Mostaert might also have been drawn to the classically informed *De orbe novo* of Peter Martyr which described a new world of utopian innocence and Ovidian grace. As far as the reports of Coronado are concerned, Mostaert could only have heard gossip or hearsay from friends at court. It is doubtful that he was even around the court in the

1540s when such verbal reports would have circulated, and Coronado's written account was only published after Mostaert's death in 1556.⁴²

All of this does not imply that Mostaert would not have had some idea of the events of Coronado's expedition – of the Spanish exploration of the uncharted lands, of their encounter with cliff-dwelling natives, of the stones hurled at the steel-bearing invaders, of the fruitless search for gold – though it is doubtful that he had the neat, coherent narrative that his exegetes have come to expect from him. If early literary and graphic representations of America happily mixed fact with fiction, Mostaert's painting cannot be expected to show any greater consistency. His "West Indies Landscape" evokes New World themes by combining the exotic, the familiar, and the familiarly exotic. If a parrot decorates the foreground, so, too, do such common European fauna as hare, sheep, and cattle, all animals typical of the pastoral landscape.⁴³ The *arco naturale* that Van Lutervelt associates with the landscape of Arizona was actually a common feature of sixteenth-century landscape painting in general, and regularly appears in scenes of "St. Jerome in the Wilderness" and in other Flemish *Welilandschaften* by Cornelis Massys and Henri Bles.⁴⁴ A similar geological structure decorates the background of another work by Mostaert, the Rijksmuseum's *Portrait of a Woman*, a painting hardly noteworthy for its exoticism.⁴⁵ Finally, if the figures in the middle ground lack any "American" attire, this only exposes their undeniably European bodies. The only bits of "civil" dressing that Mostaert *does* include – the red, fur-lined hats which crown the three, otherwise naked natives in the center of the composition – refer, iconographically at least, to the Asiatic "Tartars" as featured, for example, in Abraham de Bruijn's *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (1581).⁴⁶ The *West Indies Landscape*, then, brings together a variety of exotic, other-worldly motifs as perceived by a somewhat worldly, but undeniably Netherlandish, artist of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, enough obviously American details exist (the bizarre cliff houses and straw huts; the rude, rock-throwing defenders; the European attackers of a primitive, pre-steel society) to suggest that the work was based, at least in part, on reports of the New World. In all cases, it shows the clash of European (whether Spanish or Portuguese) steel with an innocent Age of Stone.⁴⁷ While it would be possible to *avoid* calling this scene a specifically New World landscape and to place it instead within the context of Renaissance Arcadianism, it is also eminently possible to fit the work into contemporary views of the New World, influenced, as they were, by some of the very same images of antiquity and of the Ovidian Golden Age. The demand of

modern scholars for compositional precision in Mostaert's work misconceives the Renaissance's still subtle notion of the (indeed) New World.

VAN MANDER'S NEW WORLD

Though establishing the subject of Mostaert's *West Indies Landscape* poses certain difficulties, tracing Van Mander's opinion of the painting, a perhaps equally relevant issue, presents far fewer problems. "There is also a West Indies Landscape," he writes in *Het schilder-boeck*, "with many naked people, a jagged cliff, and a strange construction of houses and huts; though it is left unfinished."⁴⁸ This last comment about the state of the painting implies that the painting was unlikely to have been commissioned. It is also noteworthy that the work remained for at least two generations within the Mostaert family and that Van Mander saw it in the home of the artist's grandson, Nicolaes Suyker, then the mayor of Haarlem. Van Mander singles it out, at any rate, as one of Mostaert's more important works. It is one of only ten paintings by Mostaert mentioned in *Het schilder-boeck*. If Van Mander knew it, one can presume that others in Van Mander's circle, which included the most important artists and scholars of late sixteenth-century Haarlem, were likely to have known the work as well and perhaps shared the opinion of Van Mander, the leading critic of his day. Prominent municipal officials and other visitors to the mayor's residence would certainly have seen it, and there is little reason to doubt that Van Mander's authoritative assessment was broadly accepted among these viewers as well.

Yet what exactly did a "West Indies Landscape" mean to Van Mander? Despite certain subsequent issues of nomenclature, in the late sixteenth century "West Indies" meant the whole of the New World, and to Van Mander it would have signified a peculiarly Netherlandish perception of America, further informed by the Italian ideas Van Mander had acquired during his stay in the South.⁴⁹ From 1573 to 1577, He visited Italian centers of culture, studying not only the glories of a recently unearthed antiquity, but also the contemporary productions of cinquecento culture. His subsequent literary output attests to his broad and Italophilic interests. He would later compose a Vasari-inspired "Lives" of the ancient artists as well as a study of the "modern" Italian ones. He also translated a considerable number of works from antiquity including those of Homer (*Iliad*), Virgil (*Bucolics* and *Georgics*), and Ovid (*Metamorphosis*) (cf. Van Mander 1604d, 1604e, 1604f).⁵⁰ His familiarity with these works would have helped him in his own career as an artist,

while his translations contributed greatly to the spread of ancient mythology and Arcadianism to the burgeoning Renaissance of the North. Van Mander demonstrated his personal predilection for pastoral themes in a painting of "Adam and Eve in Paradise," executed upon his return to Flanders.⁵¹

Van Mander's sojourn in the South put him in touch with more than just the classicism and the art of the Renaissance, however. It also educated him in the political lessons of Italy's noted theorists and it subjected him to the military vicissitudes and the political havoc wreaked by Italy's most recent invaders. In the freshly issued *Istoria* of Guicciardini, he would have found the oft-cited thesis that the refined civilization of Renaissance Italy, the Italian golden age so to speak, had been ingloriously trampled upon by invading barbarians from Spain and France. The artist and future poet did not avoid letting himself become entangled in the political chaos of his day. Van Mander in Italy perhaps fell into something of an "opposition" crowd. The recent discovery of frescoes by Van Mander in the Palazzo Spada in Terni (Umbria), depicting scenes from the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), demonstrates the artist's knowledge of, if not sympathy for, the fate of Protestant martyrs closer to home.⁵²

Much of this culture of violence and intolerance would in fact pursue Van Mander back to the Netherlands, to which he returned in the late 1570s in time to experience some of the worst turbulence of the Dutch times of troubles. The Van Mander family's ancestral village was overrun by a Walloon regiment and Karel nearly lost his life to a pack of Habsburg mercenaries. In a telling anecdote, Van Mander's seventeenth-century biographer relates how the future art historian was captured, robbed, stripped naked, and impiously strung up in a noose, before being saved by an Italian "knight," who, upon hearing the victim's elegant Italian, recognized Karel as a friend from their earlier days in Rome. This eleventh-hour cavalier scattered the executioners and saved the day (*Geslacht* 1618:sig. [Riiij]^v-S). Soon thereafter, Van Mander abandoned Flanders and emigrated to Haarlem, where he joined a group of educated, tolerant, and pacifist men of letters that included Hendrick Goltzius, Dirck Coornhert, and Cornelis van Haarlem. Van Mander's training, then, first in Italy and later in Flanders, instilled in him a wide range of sensibilities that would guide his future judgments as an art historian and, more specifically, inform his reading of Mostaert's *West Indies Landscape*. On the one hand, his exposure to antiquity and classicism, his translation of Virgil and Ovid, and his ultimate assimilation into Haarlem's more liberal and tolerant circles would have allowed him to see in Mostaert's work the pastoral, Arcadian,

indeed, Ovidian themes of a golden age of innocence invaded by violence and turmoil. On the other hand, his experience of Spanish ignominies, perhaps in Italy and most certainly in Flanders, his knowledge of Benzoni's New World exposé, and his domicile in the Netherlands during the height of its struggle against Spain, would have encouraged him to see in Mostaert's work a *Spanish* incursion against New World innocents who hopelessly try to defend *their* "houses and huts" against the invading, steel-bearing barbarians from abroad.

The literary sources complete the picture. For Van Mander's scattered references to America in *Het schilder-boeck*, and especially in the sonnets which he composed for his translation of Benzoni, afford further evidence of the author's distinctive image of the New World. Thus, a celebration of the beauty of the human body in *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (The foundation of the noble art of painting) leads him to consider the well formed physiques of the naked inhabitants of the "Indies." In America, notes Van Mander, men go naked and without shame, as they did in the time of Saturn's rule (the *Aurea Aetas*). These unadorned innocents expose bodies more "wonderfully beautiful" than all the costly silks and dyed fabrics of European courts, where, alas, shame and a sense of indecency infect social intercourse. America here basks in the glow of golden age simplicity. Later in the same work, Van Mander returns to the pastoral image of the "simple" people of the "West Indies" who remain ignorant of writing. Obligated to serve their conquerors, though, the Indians must bear the Spanish letters of command that contain the very instructions of their own demise. These guileless, unsuspecting creatures, concludes Van Mander, must suffer the cruelties of the writing and warring Spanish nation. In this second instance, America groans under the dark shadow of Spanish tyrannies (Van Mander 1604b:42^v and 51^v; and cf. Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 1.89-112).

Not accidentally, these references convey much of the same admixture of Arcadianism and anti-Hispanism that characterized the narrative of Benzoni. The poetry composed by Van Mander for the occasion of his translation of the *Mondo nuovo* makes the case most forthrightly. In four sonnets, Van Mander sketches the outlines of the tale of the conquest: a tale of Spanish violences and Indian sufferings. Whence comes the furious barrage of iron (weapons) that now visit the once peaceful New World? asks the poet artfully. Wooden boats brought iron weapons in search of golden treasure. The days of tranquillity have sadly passed:

Hard iron weapons, never before seen
 The sorrowful times that have come
 The never bowed neck that must now bear a heavy yoke:
 Saturn's sweet age planted there for eternity
 Must be shunted by this poor nation
 Hard and iron are the times that formerly were golden.⁵³

Spanish greed and lust for gold, argues the poet, had destroyed a world that, if hitherto "golden," had known neither envy nor strife. An Edenic idyll had succumbed to the wrath and wars of the invading Spaniards. Indeed, the contrast drawn in the poem between the undisturbed "West Indies" enjoying "sweet" tranquillity on the one hand, and the leagues of restless, iron-clad soldiers on the other, reads like a veritable caption for the Mostaert panel.

In the three sonnets that follow, Van Mander elaborates on the theme of Spanish tyrannies: on the Spanish subjection of a peace-loving and gracious nation, on their pillaging of a "richly jeweled land," and on their use of religion as a pretext for the unprincipled pursuit of profit. All of these topoi would have undoubtedly rung familiar to Dutch readers who, after years of bitter war, knew all too well of the Spanish abuse of rights, riches, and religion. (The connection between the Indians' suffering and that of the Dutch is expressed more bluntly by the printer who calls Benzoni's history "a mirror" in which the "cunning, unfaithful, and cruel nature of the Spanish nation is exposed," and who further rallies the Dutch to rise against the Spanish enemy in the Netherlands [Passchier van Wesbusch 1610:sig. Aij^v].) Between the sonnets, the scattered Americana, the translation of Benzoni itself, and, not the least, the "translation" of the Mostaert panel, a vision of America begins to emerge. For the poet Van Mander, steeped as he was in classical literature, the New World represented an ancient world of peace and prosperity inhabited by a society which knew neither shame nor war and which had survived (until recently) in a golden age of Arcadian innocence. Yet for the refugee Van Mander, whose adult life coincided with nothing *but* war, America appeared a landscape of destruction – a sorrowful illustration of sixteenth-century greed and aggression, and a theater of Spanish cruelty and tyranny. To be sure, Van Mander's "America" partook of a number of the literary motifs employed throughout the century and betrayed, to a certain degree, some of the imprecision and vagueness that characterized the earlier, graphic sources. Yet ultimately, Van Mander's representation of America combined these literary and visual traditions with a distinctly Netherlandish sense of history. "America" acquired its relevance for poetic as well as political imperatives.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Virtually all of Van Mander's notes on America appeared in *Het schilder-boeck*, published in 1604, with the exception of the translation of Benzoni which came out posthumously in 1610. Van Mander's reference to the translation in *Het schilder-boeck* as already completed, however, implies that the manuscript lay finished already by 1603.⁵⁴ It is tempting to suppose that the work was undertaken sometime in the late 1570s or the early 1580s; for this would conform with the publishing pattern in the Netherlands where, in the final decades of the sixteenth century, a veritable torrent of Americana – including Dutch translations of Staden, Léry, and José de Acosta's classic, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1598) – streamed off the presses of the Low Countries. Also in the late sixteenth century the first translations – in Dutch, and only later in French and Latin – of Bartolomé de las Casas's catalog of Spanish cruelties in America, the *Brevíssima relación*, began to appear with remarkable regularity, first in Antwerp and later in Amsterdam (Las Casas 1578; and cf. Alden & Landis 1980-88 for later editions). The Dominican friar's account of Habsburg atrocities perpetrated against the gentle Indians had a phenomenal impact on contemporary Dutch authors. In the famous *Apologie* of Prince Willem of Orange, in which the ranking Dutch noble defended his abjuration of Philip II, numerous passages appeal to the memory of the fellow-suffering natives of America. By the turn of the century, Willem Usselincx, that tireless promoter of overseas trade and, like Van Mander, a war refugee from the South, initiated a pamphlet campaign calling for an American trading company that would not only trade with the New World, but also save the "innocent Indians" from the clutches of the tyrannical Spaniards. The foundation of the Dutch West India Company would have to wait until the end of the truce with Spain, in 1621; yet already by the beginning of the seventeenth century, over one hundred years after the voyage of Columbus, one could say that the Dutch had discovered "America."

NOTES

1. For the earliest reactions of Europeans to the voyages of discovery and the new found lands, see the pioneering essay of Elliott (1970), which emphasizes the generally "muted" impact of the New World on the Old. Many of Elliott's initial judgements were worked out in the wide-ranging collection of Chiappelli (1976) and in the thoughtful article (that likewise minimizes the impact of the discoveries) of Ryan (1981). A slightly revisionist view is found in Grafton (1992), which details the

role the discoveries played within the broader context of humanist letters. The case of the Netherlands has yet to receive scholarly attention; see, however, the exploratory volume of Lechner & Vogel (1992) and the essay by Lechner (1992), which considers the presence of early Americana within the libraries of the Low Countries.

2. "T'is oock aenmercklijck, het gene den Franschen Herr *Michiel de Montagne* verhaelt, hervaren te hebben, te weten, dat hy te *Rouan* hadde ghesien twee West-Indianen uyt Florida, die wonderlyck verwondert waren te sien, eenighe rijke Menschen groote heerlijcke huysen bewoonen, cleeren, en spijs overvloedich hebben, en voor dese huysen ander Menschen naeckt, en verhonghert bidden om een weynigh broodts, en dat sy saghen dat het de Menschen niet even goet en hadden in dese onmenschlijke Landen, ghelyck sy in hun beredende Landen oft rechte *Elysijs* velden deden: daer sy onderlinge in grooter eenicheyt, ghelijckheydt, liefde, en vrede seer gheneuechlijck leefden, met sanghen, en springhen, d'Oude met wat te praten, de Jonghe met wilt braedt jaghen tot den ghemeenen cost, den dagh ten avont brachten, slecht, onheveynst, en met een cleentgen te vreden wesende, recht so de Poeten t'volck van de gulden Eeuwe beschrijven" (Van Mander 1604f:110v).

For Van Mander's apparent source for this anecdote, see Montaigne (1957:150-59), who speaks of Indians from *France Antarctique*, a sixteenth-century designation that referred to France's New World possessions in general, yet, within this context, to Brazil in particular.

3. Van Mander included American material in at least one of his own graphic works, *Confusio Babylonica* (ca. 1600), which shows a contingent of Indians among the peoples of the world in an episode from the story of the Tower of Babel (strictly speaking, then, before they had become Americans). The print is reproduced and discussed in Vandenbroek (1992:321). Further literary references to "America" – especially in *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* and in miscellaneous poetry – will be discussed below.

4. For the "Brazilian Festival" of 1550, see McGowan 1968 and 1970 and Mullaney 1992. For the Spanish forays against Fort Caroline, see Bennett 1964, and cf. the discussion below of the pamphlet literature produced in the aftermath of the affair.

5. This expression, *gelukkig land*, would reappear in numerous Dutch Americana of subsequent years, especially in works of poetry. See, for example, Steendam (1661:line 261 and *passim*).

6. Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru* appeared six times in Dutch and only once in Spanish; while Staden's *Warhaftig Historia* enjoyed ten Dutch editions compared to just six German editions by the year 1650. For a complete bibliography, as well as the (virtually) definitive research tool for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printed works on the New World, see Alden & Landis (1980-88).

7. For the presence of early Americana in Dutch libraries, see Lechner 1992 as well as the more general study of Van Selm (1987). The French case was studied by Atkinson (1935), following the earlier study of Chinard (1911).

8. On Dutch literature in the late Middle Ages and especially the development of an "urban literature" in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Pleij 1988 and the same author's collection of essays (Pleij 1990), which includes excellent and updated

bibliographies on the subject. A recent treatment of the economy and culture of medieval Flanders can be found in Nicholas 1992.

9. Other available Latin versions of Columbus's *Epistola* were printed in Rome, Paris (thrice), and Basel. For the early publication history of Columbus, see Hirsch 1976 and Alden & Landis 1980-88.

10. On the literary imagination of Columbus, see (among the flood of recent titles) Greenblatt 1991 and Flint 1992. On Dutch readers' predilection for naturalism, see Pleij 1990:17-78 and, more generally, Gerbi 1985:12-22.

11. While Columbus's life has been the subject of relentless scrutiny over the last century, Vespucci has received far less attention. For his designation as a "beef contractor," as well as an early (modern) debunking of his "Letters," see Markham (1894:vi) and cf. more generally Magnaghi 1926.

12. Alden & Landis (1980-88) provide fuller bibliographic details (Volume one). The Dutch edition (1508) was reproduced in a facsimile in Springer 1894.

13. The Antwerp edition (Anghiera 1536) was based primarily on a Basil version of 1521, itself based on the edition of 1516 issued in Alcalá de Henares. A more detailed discussion appears in Wagner 1946.

14. Cf. Anghiera 1912, I:79 for a similar description of the naked and innocent natives of Hispaniola. For Martyr's impact on Renaissance scholarship, see Burke 1990:1-22.

15. A Dutch-language version appeared the following year (Cortés 1523).

16. At least one author of a New World account also composed a popular romance of chivalry. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Don Claribalte* (1519) appeared only shortly before his *De la natural hystoria de las Indias* (1526).

17. Cf. Alden & Landis 1980-88 and McMahon 1955. On the appetite of Netherlandish readers for the romance of chivalry, see Debaene 1968, Pleij 1982:13-31, and Robben 1988.

18. The Dutch edition was published the following year (Staden 1558) and in eight more editions over the following eighty years, making it the most popular work of its kind until Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe's *Gedenkwaerdige beschryvinghe* (1646) gave the Dutch a homegrown adventure of comparable gore.

19. For a full bibliography of, as well as an excellent introduction to, Léry's work, see Léry 1990. Note that the fourth and fifth editions of the *Histoire d'un voyage* (of 1599-1600 and 1611 respectively) both contain dedications to "Madame la Princesse d'Orange" (that is, Louise de Coligny, the widow of Willem the Silent and the daughter of Gaspard de Coligny), suggesting the relevance Léry, at the very least, saw his work as having to the political and religious events of the Netherlands.

20. The purpose and patronage of the expedition were less clear than Léry suggested. Though the expedition had been sponsored by the future Huguenot leader, Coligny, and though Coligny may have had other expectations from Villegagnon, it is unclear whether Coligny, already in the mid-1550s, saw the mission in religious terms. Villegagnon, in all events, would later play a central role in the French wars of religion, unambiguously on the side of the Catholics.

21. Though the *Histoire* fits nicely into the context of Calvinist polemical literature of the day, this should not take away from its merit as a precocious attempt at ethnography and an excellent source on the Tupinamba Indians. Both of these qualities have long accounted for its high reputation and prompted Claude Lévi-Strauss (1981:81) to label the work the "anthropologist's breviary."
22. Léry 1990:133. Mutual accusation of cannibalism became increasingly popular during the French wars of religion, exploited by Catholics and Protestants alike. See Lestringant 1980, 1982, and Whatley 1987-88. Lestringant's exhaustive research on the French endeavors in America – most recently published in 1990 and 1991 – serve as the authoritative starting point for the subject.
23. Other records of the ill-fated colony can be found in the more polished – and, perhaps, accordingly, less popular – account of Laudonnière (1586) and in the drawings and accompanying descriptions drafted by Jaques Le Moyne, which ultimately found their way into the first volume of Theodore de Bry's monumental *Americae* (1591).
24. The most important work to denigrate the Spanish conquest of America, Bartholomé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, appeared in Seville in 1552 and may have exercised some influence, directly or indirectly, over Benzoni's own work, which was composed sometime between 1555 and 1565. Las Casas's work could not have reached a very wide audience at this point, though, since it remained untranslated (or even republished) until the Dutch discovered the work in 1578, and proceeded to publish this potent piece of propaganda at least twenty times in the next half century.
25. Benzoni 1857:143, 180, 93. The last-cited passage refers, not without a certain irony, to the "law of Baiona," that is, the code of Spanish-Indian relations promulgated in Burgos in 1512-13 sanctioning the use of native labor in the *encomiendas*.
26. Benzoni 1857:162; and cf. p. 54 for his harsh judgement of feeble Spanish efforts in spreading the Lord's word.
27. Guicciardini's history of Italy (1561) was issued approximately thirty times in the sixteenth century alone. Guicciardini (1969:179) also discusses the discovery of America, which he describes as a state of nature (cannibalism notwithstanding) rudely disrupted by greedy and mercenary Spanish invaders, "now digging the gold, ... now purchasing it at ridiculous prices from the inhabitants, and now robbing them of what they had." Like Benzoni, he faults the Spanish equally severely for their failure to fulfill their Christian obligations in the New World.
28. For the Black Legend, see Arnoldsson 1960, Keen 1969, and Gibson 1971. For a case study of the role of the Black Legend in Dutch propaganda, see Swart 1975.
29. For a complete bibliography, see Alden & Landis 1980-88. Note that seven German editions appeared by 1613, and that de Bry also included the work in his Latin-language anthologies as *Pars quarta*, *Pars quinta*, and *Pars sexta* (1594-96). The Dutch edition (Benzoni 1610) was reissued by Gillis Joosten Saeghman (1663-70) in the mid-seventeenth century as part of his anthology of travel literature.
30. The judgement of Benzoni as the "most popular" work of the sixteenth

century comes from Parry (1982). By certain criteria, of course, other paintings of "America" had been produced in the sixteenth century – paintings containing depictions of Indians, plants, animals, or artifacts from the New World. Mostaert's is the only *landscape*, however, devoted primarily to an American scene.

31. For the earliest visual representations of America see the agenda-setting works of Honour (1975a and 1975b). Cf. also Sturtevant 1976 and the recent exhibition catalogues published to commemorate the Columbian Quincentenary (Levenson 1991 and Vandenbroeck 1992, the latter particularly relevant for the case of the Netherlands).

32. The lone exception to this record of visual indifference is the production of the entourage of Johan Maurits, governor of Dutch-held Brazil, in the mid-seventeenth century. See, for example, the exhibition catalog (Van den Boogaart & Duparc 1979) and volume of essays (Van den Boogaart 1979) on Johan Maurits's patronage; and Whitehead & Boeseman 1989.

33. Cousin provided the illustrations for Thevet's *Cosmographie* (1575) and has therefore been credited with the stylized illustrations of the *Singularitez* (cf. Honour 1975a:90, which also reproduces a striking image of Brazilians smoking tobacco).

34. The print on fol. 41 (a knight on a horse) was used for the title page of a now lost edition of *De ghenuechlijcke historie vanden ... vromen ridder Peeter van Provencien* (The pleasant history of the ... pious knight Peter of Provence; 1587), which is reproduced in Debaene 1951:141. Zárate's work was published by "W. Silvius for J. Verwithagen." The former headed one of Antwerp's largest publishing houses and issued, just a few years later, the romance of chivalry, *Les aventures d'Amadis de Gaule*. Verwithagen had published a number of histories and cosmographies, including a tale of *oriental* chivalry, *Nieuwe tijdinghe van alle het ghene dat geschiet is tusschen de Christenen ende de ongeloofighe Turcken* (1565).

35. David Armitage (1990) has recently argued that the Burgkmair print might also have served, if indirectly, as a model for the *Procession Portrait* of Queen Elizabeth (Sherborne Castle, Dorset), which makes any traditional iconographic conclusions even more untidy.

36. The Dutch version was slightly more appropriately titled "De reyse van Lissabone" (The voyage from Lisbon), though the text and woodcuts are equally chaotic. See the facsimile reproduction in Springer 1894.

37. Honour (1975:27) has suggested that the European clothing had been added to the Tupi visitor "to make him presentable in Church." In all events, the presumably Portuguese artist(s) has affixed the accouterments of recently discovered "Indians" of the West (and the Portuguese encountered the Tupi of Brazil first in 1500) on this visitor from the East.

38. Only John White would undertake in the sixteenth century a systematic program of drawings and watercolors of New World images. These images remained confined to a small circle of English explorers and scholars until they fell into the hands of de Bry and his engravers who stylized and classicized White's relatively "naturalistic" images. Indeed, it was de Bry more than anyone else who was responsible for disseminating a visual language of the New World.

39. Michel's proposal was broadly accepted by other art historians including

Friedländer (1924-37, X:14) and Hoogewerff (1936-47, II:493).

40. Larsen's argument (1970), of which he must have conceived while working on his monograph (1962) on the Dutch painter of Brazil, Frans Post, contains a somewhat flawed series of assumptions on European knowledge of Brazil. Though Staden returned to Europe in 1555, his story appeared in print only in 1557, at least a year after Mostaert's death, and it obviously could not have influenced the artist. Furthermore, Brazil, as such, did not really enter the European imagination until well into the 1550s – when the Portuguese began to make profitable their claims on their portion of the New World – and, more importantly, in the 1560s, when the reports of French polemicists publicized the Franco-Iberian clashes overseas. In any case, Brazil hardly loomed as large in Europe's imagination as did Mesoamerica or the Caribbean islands. Furthermore, even the most public display of Brazilians during this earlier period, the Rouen festival of 1550, featured, in fact, clothed natives and not the "nude" Tupi that Larsen believes are the subject of Mostaert's work. See Denis 1850 and McGowan 1968, the former of which reproduces a contemporary print of the spectacle.

41. The exact years of Mostaert's court period, as mentioned by Van Mander, are still somewhat obscure. Friedländer (1924-37, X:12) cites a document dated 1521 referring to a portrait by "Jehan Masturd" executed sometime before 1504 that might have been an official commission, yet since Margaretha served from 1506-29, this source only confuses matters. It is possible that Mostaert maintained some informal contacts with the court (Bernaert van Orley served the regent between 1518 and 1529 and Jacopo de' Barbari served between 1510 and 1515, according to Friedländer), or with the second husband of Margaretha, Philibert of Savoy, who was the subject of the aforementioned portrait. In any case, Mostaert had continual contact with Dutch patrons who, according to Van Mander, valued Mostaert's "refined" background and paid him the highest respect.

42. The main reports came from Pedro Castañeda de Nájera, whose *Relation* was "written twenty years after events" and published only in the eighteenth century. Sabin (1868-1936:no. 98723) has an entry for a work by Coronado himself, *Relación del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vázquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cívola* (1556), yet this would have come out after, or only months before, Mostaert's death. Since the sixteenth-century work is known only from the copy in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, it seems more than likely that it functioned as something of an "in-house" document for the internal use of the Spanish court.

43. The parrot appears in enough exotic scenes of Africa and Asia for it to have acquired something of a general "exotic," non-European meaning. Only after the 1550s would the parrot become so exclusively associated with Brazil.

44. See Gibson 1989 and especially the *St. Jerome* of Workshop of Henri Bles (Gibson 1989:fig. 2.45) for a good example of the use of exotic landscape within this genre.

45. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, A 3843.

46. Cf. De Bruyn 1581:fig. 42, especially the "Tartaus gentis more armatus." Since many early-modern commentators considered the Americans descendants of the "Tartars," or "Scythians," Mostaert's iconographic footnote fits very nicely, if subtly, into sixteenth-century aetiological theory.

47. For a suggestive study of the Renaissance's representation of the early stage of man, see the gracefully argued essay of Panofsky (1939).
48. Van Mander 1604c:229^v: "Daer is ook een Landschap, wesende een West-Indien, met veel naeckts volck, met een bootstige Clip, en vreemt ghebouw van huysen en hutten: doch is onvoldaen gelaten."
49. Larsen's contention (1970) that "West Indies" meant only Brazil and the Caribbean is hardly borne out by the evidence. To cite but one example, the Dutch "West Indische Compagnie," founded in 1621 yet proposed and debated from the late-sixteenth century, was meant to trade all along the American coasts (and even Africa, though, *pace* Larsen, this continent was never included under the designation, "West Indies").
50. Van Mander's translations were all from the Latin originals, with the exception of the *Iliad*, which he re-worked from a French translation of the original Greek. For the full titles and dates of these and other works and for the standard bibliography of Van Mander, see Miedema (1972); for Van Mander's Italian trip, see Noë (1954); and on the *Schilder-boeck* itself, see Melion (1991).
51. This unidentified work is mentioned in the biography of Van Mander that was appended to *Het Schilder-boeck* (1618 edition) and composed, perhaps, by the artist's brother, Adam van Mander, or by G.A. Bredero (Geslacht 1618:sig. [Riiij]).
52. See Reznicek 1989 and 1993. The frescos show *The Wounded Admiral Gaspard de Coligny*, *The Massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Eve*, and *King Charles IX Sanctioning De Coligny's Assassination*.
53. Van Mander, "Sonnetten van den Overseter" (in Benzoni 1610): "Hard ijser wapen, daer te vooren noyt gesien / Ter droever tijt, daer quam in wissel boven dien / Den noyt gedwongen hals, swaer jock heeft moeten dulden: / Saturnij eeuwse soet, voor eeuwich daer geplant / Is dit ellendich volck, ghewisselt daer int lant / Hard ijserich is den tijdt, die was te vooren gulden."
54. For the chronology of Van Mander's literary activity, see Van Regteren Altena 1937 and Miedema 1972.

REFERENCES

- ACOSTA, JOSÉ DE, 1590. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Sevilla: I. de Leon.
 —, 1598. *Historie naturael ende morael van de Westersche Indien*. Haarlem: G. Roodman.
- ALDEN, JOHN & DENNIS LANDIS (eds.), 1980-88. *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1750*. 4 vols. New York: Readex Books.
- ANGHIERA, PIETRO MARTIRE D', 1536. *Descriptio terrae sancta exactissima ... De novis insulis nuper repertis ... per Petrum Martyr*. Antwerp: J. Grapheus.

- , 1912. *De orbe novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*. Translated and edited by Francis Augustus MacNutt. 2 vols. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- ARMITAGE, DAVID, 1990. The "Procession Portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I: A Note on a Tradition. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 53:301-7.
- ARNOLDSSON, SVERKER, 1960. *La leyenda negra: Estudios sobre sus orígenes*. Göteborg: s.n.
- ATKINSON, GEOFFROY, 1935. *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française*. Paris: E. Droz.
- AURELIUS, CORNELIUS, 1517. *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant*. Leiden: Jan Seuersz.
- BENNETT, CHARLES, 1964. *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline: History and Documents*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- BENNETT, JOSEPHINE WATERS, 1954. *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. New York: The Modern Language Association of America.
- BENZONI, GIROLAMO, 1600. *La Historia del mondo nuovo*. Venice: F. Rampazetto.
- , 1610. *De historie van de nieuwe weereld, te weten de beschrijvinghe van West Indien ... Wt het Italiaens overgheset ... door Carel vander Mander Schilder*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.
- , 1857. *History of the New World by Girolamo Benzoni, Showing his Travels in America from A.D. 1541 to 1556, with Some Particulars of the Island of Canary*. Translated and edited by W.H. Smyth. London: Hakluyt Society.
- BOOGAART, ERNST VAN DEN (ed.), 1979. *Johan Maurits van Nassau Siegen 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil: Essays on the Tercentenary of his Death*. The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting/The Government Publishing Office.
- BOOGAART, ERNST VAN DEN & F.J. DUPARC (eds.), 1979. *Zo wijd de wereld strekt: Tentoonstelling n.a.v. de 300ste sterfdag van Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen op 20 december 1799. Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, Den Haag, 21 dec. 1979 - 1 maart 1980*. The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting.
- BONTEKOE, WILLEM YSBRANDTSZ., 1646. *Journael ofte Gedenckwaerdige beschrijvinghe vande Oost-Indische reyse van ... Willem Ysbrandtsz. Bontekoe*. Hoorn: I. Willemsz.
- BRUJN, ABRAHAM DE, 1581. *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus*. Antwerp: [A. de Bruijn].
- BRY, THEODORE DE (comp.), 1591-98. *Americae (Grands Voyages)*. Frankfurt a. Main: Theodore de Bry.
- (comp.), 1591. *Brevis narratio eorumquae in Florida Americae provincia Gallis acciderunt*. Frankfurt a. Main: Theodore de Bry.

BURKE, PETER, 1990. The Spread of Italian Humanism. In Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*. London: Longman.

CHIAPPELLI, FREDI, (ed.), 1976. *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press.

CHINARD, GABRIEL, 1911. *L'exotisme Américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle d'après Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, etc.* Paris: Hachette.

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER, 1493. *Epistola ... de insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inventis*. Antwerp: T. Martens.

—, 1988. *The Four Voyages of Columbus: A History in Eight Documents. Including Five by Christopher Columbus, in the Original Spanish, with English Translations*. Translated and edited by Lionel Cecil Jane. New York: Dover Publications.

CORTÉS, HERNÁN, 1522. *Des marches yslles et pays trouuees et conquise par les captains du tres illustre Charle V.* [Antwerp: M. Hillen.]

—, 1523. *De contreyen vanden eylanden ende lantdouwen*. Antwerp: M. Hillen.

CUTTILER, CHARLES, 1989. Errata in *Netherlandish Art: Jan Mostaert's "New World" Landscape*. *Simiolus* 19:191-97.

DEBAENE, LUC, 1951. *De Nederlandse volksboeken: Ontstaan en geschiedenis van de Nederlandse prozaromans, gedrukt tussen 1475 en 1540*. Antwerp: De Vlijt.

—, 1968. Nederlandse prozaromans en Spaanse Libros de Caballerías. In Eduard Rombauts, *Liber Alumnorum : Aangeboden ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftenzestigste verjaardag en zijn dertigjarig hoogleraarschap*. Leuven: Universiteit van Leuven.

DENIS, FERDINAND, 1850. *Une fête brésilienne, célébrée à Rouen en 1550*. Paris: J. Techener.

ELLIOTT, J.H., 1970. *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO, GONZALO, 1519. *Don Claribalte*. Valencia: J. Viñao.

—, 1526. *De la natural hystoria de las Indias*. Toledo: R. de Petras.

FLINT, VALERIE I.J., 1992. *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

FRIEDLÄNDER, MAX J., 1924-37. *Die alniederländische Malerei*. 14 vols. Berlin: P. Cassirer.

GERBI, ANTONELLO, 1985. *Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo*. Translated by Jeremy Moyle. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Geslacht, 1618. 't Geslacht, de geboort, plaets, tydt, leven, ende wercken van Karel van Mander, schilder, en poeet. In Karel van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck*, 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Jacob Pietersz. Wächter.

GIBSON, CHARLES, (ed.), 1971. *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old*

World and the New. New York: Knopf.

GIBSON, WALTER, 1989. *"Mirror of the Earth." The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

GRAFTON, ANTHONY, 1992. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

GREENBLATT, STEPHEN J., 1991. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

GUICCIARDINI, FRANCESCO, 1561. *La Historia di Italia*. Florence: L. Torrentino.

—, 1969. *The History of Italy*. Translated and edited by Sidney Alexander. New York: Macmillan.

HIRSCH, RUDOLF, 1976. Printed Reports of the Early Discoveries and their Reception. In Fredi Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America: Impact of the New World on the Old*. Berkeley: University of California Press, vol. 2, pp. 537-62.

HOOGEWERFF, G.J., 1936-47. *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst*. 5 vols. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

HONOUR, HUGH, 1975a. *The European Vision of America: A Special Exhibition to Honor the Bicentennial of the United States, Organized by the Cleveland Museum of Art with the Collaboration of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.

—, 1975b. *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*. New York: Pantheon.

KEEN, BENJAMIN, 1969. The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49:703-19.

LARSEN, ERIK, 1962. *Frans Post, interprète du Brésil*. Amsterdam: Colibris Editora.

—, 1970. One more Jan Mostaert's West Indian Landscape. In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, offerts au professeur Jacques Lavalleye*. Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université.

LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE, 1552. *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de Indias*. Seville: S. Trugillo.

—, 1578. *Seer cort verhael vande destructie van d'Indien*. [Antwerp]: s.n.

LAUDONNIÈRE, RENÉ DE, 1586. *L'histoire notable de la Floride*. Paris: G. Auvray.

LE CHALLEUX, NICHOLAS, 1566. *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*. Dieppe: J. LeSellier.

—, 1965. *A true and perfect description of the last voyage ... into Florida*. Translated by Thomas Hacket. In Stefan Lorant (ed.), *The New World: The First Pictures of America made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne and engraved by Theodore de Bry with Contemporary Narratives of the French Settlements in Florida 1562-1565, and the English Colonies in Virginia, 1585-1590*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce. [New rev. ed.]

LECHNER, JAN, 1992. Dutch Humanists' Knowledge of America. *Itinerario* 16:101-13.

LECHNER, JAN & H.P.H. VOGEL (eds.), 1992. *De Nieuwe Wereld en de Lage Landen: Onbekende aspecten van vijfhonderd jaar ontmoetingen tussen Latijns-Amerika en Nederland*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

LÉRY, JEAN DE, 1561. *La persecution des fideles en terre d'Amerique*. Geneva: s.n.

—, 1578. *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil*. La Rochelle: A. Chuppin

—, 1990. *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

LESTRINGANT, FRANK, 1980. Calvinistes et Cannibales: Les écrits protestants sur les Brésil français (1555-1560). *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Française* 1-2:9-26, 167-92.

—, 1982. Catholiques et Cannibales: Le thème du cannibalisme dans le discours protestant au temps des guerres de religion. In J.-Cl. Margolin and Robert Sauzet (eds.), *Pratique & discours alimentaires à la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de Tours de mars 1979*, (&) *Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

—, 1990. *Le Huguenot et le sauvage l'Amerique et la controverse coloniale en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555-1589)*. Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres.

—, 1991. *L'atelier du cosmographe, ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance*. Paris: Albin Michel.

LEVENSON, JAY A. (ed.), 1991. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE, 1981. *Tristes Tropiques*. Translated by John & Doreen Weightman. New York: Atheneum.

LUTTERVELT, REMMET VAN, 1948-49. Jan Mostaert's West-Indisch landschap. *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* 2:107-17.

MAGNAGHI, ALBERTO, 1926. *Amerigo Vespucci: studio critico, con speciale riguardo ad una nuova valutazione delle fonti* ... 2 vols. Rome: Fratelli Treves.

MANDER, KAREL VAN, 1604a. *Het schilder-boeck, waerin voor het eerst de leerlustige iueght den grondt der edelvrij schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen, daer nae in dry deelen 't leven der ... schilders des ouden, en nieuwen tijds, eyntlyck d'uut legghinghe op den Metamorphosson Pub. Ovidii Nations, oock daerbeneffens uitbeeldinghe der figueren* ... Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604b. *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const. In Het schilder-boeck*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604c. *Het leven der doorluchtighe nederlandsche en hoogduytsche schilders. In Het schilder-boeck*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604d. *Het leven der moderne, oft dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche schilders. In Het schilder-boeck.* Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604e. *Het leven der oude antijcke doorluchtighe schilders. In Het schilder-boeck.* Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604f. *Wileggingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis. In Het schilder-boeck.* Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

MARKHAM, CLEMENTS R. (ed.), 1894. *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents Illustrative of his Career.* London: Hakluyt Society.

MCGOWAN, MARGARET, 1968. Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry into Rouen. *Renaissance Drama* 1:199-252.

—, (ed.), 1970. *L'entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550.* New York: Johnson.

MCMAHON, DOROTHY, 1955. Some Observations on the Spanish and Foreign Editions of Zárate's "Historia de descubrimiento y conquista del Perú." *Proceedings of the Bibliographic Society of America* 49:95-111.

MICHEL, EDOUARD, 1931. Un tableau colonial de Jan Mostaert. *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 1:133-41.

MIEDEMA, HESSEL, 1972. *Karel van Mander (1548-1606). Het bio-bibliografisch materiaal.* Amsterdam: s.n.

MONTAIGNE, MICHEL EYQUEM DE, 1957. On Cannibals. In Donald M. Frame (trans. & ed.), *The Complete Works of Montaigne.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. [2nd ed.]

MULLANEY, STEVEN, 1992. The New World on Display. In Rachel Doggett (ed.), *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700.* Washington DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.

NICHOLAS, DAVID, 1992. *Medieval Flanders.* London: Longman.

NOË, HELEN, 1954. *Carel van Mander en Italië: Beschouwingen en notities naar aanleiding van zijn "Leven der dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders."* The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

MELION, WALTER S., 1991. *Shaping of the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's "Schilder-boeck."* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

OVID [PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO], 1977-84. *Metamorphosis.* 2 vols. Translated by Frank Justus Miller & Rev. G.P. Godd. Cambridge MA: Loeb Classical Library.

PANOFSKY, ERWIN, 1939. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance.* New York: Oxford University Press.

—, 1943. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer.* 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

PARRY, J.H., 1982. Depicting a New World. In Sandra Hindman (ed.), *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald.* Washington DC: Library of Congress.

PASSCHIER VAN WESBUSCH, 1610. Dedication. In Girolamo Benzoni, *Historie van de nieuwe wereld*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

PLEIJ, HERMAN, 1982. *De wereld volgens Thomas van der Noot, boekdrukker en uitgever te Brussel in het eerste kwart van de zestiende eeuw*. Muiderberg: Coutinho.

—, 1988. *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Literatuur en stadscultuur tussen middeleeuwen en moderne tijd*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

—, 1990. *Nederlandse literatuur van de late middeleeuwen*. Utrecht: HES.

REGTEREN ALTENA, I.Q. VAN, 1937. Carel van Mander. *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 47:153-69.

REZNICEK, E.K.J., 1989. Karel van Mander as a Fresco Painter. *Hoogesteder Mercury* 10:11-14.

—, 1993. Een en ander over Van Mander. *Oud Holland* 107:75-83.

ROBBEN, F.M.A., 1988. Brandstichters en boekenkopers. In P.J.A.N. Rietbergen, F.M.A. Robben & H. de Schepper (eds.), *Tussen twee culturen: De Nederlanden en de Iberische wereld, 1550-1800*. Nijmegen: Nijmeegse Publicaties over de Nieuwe Geschiedenis.

RYAN, MICHAEL, 1981. Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23:519-38.

SABIN, JOSEPH (comp.), 1868-1936. *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time*. 29 vols. New York: J. Sabin.

SAEGHMAN, GILLIS JOOSTEN (comp.), 1663-70. *Verscheide Oost Indische voyagien: Met beschrijvingen van Indien. 't Eerste deel*. Amsterdam: G.J. Saeghman.

SELM, B. VAN, 1987. *Een menigte treffelijke boecken: Nederlandse boekhandels-catalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw*. Utrecht: HES.

STEENDAM, JACOB, 1661. *'t Lof van Nuw-Nederland*. Amsterdam: Pieter Dircksz. Boeteman.

SPRINGER, BALTHASAR, 1522. *Of the newe landes*. Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch.

—, 1894. *The Voyage From Lisbon to India, 1505-6: Being an Account and Journal by Albericus Vespuccius*. Translated from the Contemporary Flemish. Translated and edited by C.H. Coote. London: B.F. Stevens.

STADEN, HANS, 1557. *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landschaft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen Menschenfresser in der Neuen Welt Amerika gelegen*. Marburg: A. Kolbe.

—, 1558. *Warachtige historie ende beschrijvinge eens lants in America ghelegen*. Antwerp: C. Plantin.

—, 1928. *The True History of his Captivity, 1557*. Translated and edited by Malcolm Lettis. London: Routledge.

STURTEVANT, WILLIAM C., 1976. First Visual Images of Native Americans. In Fredi

Chiapelli (ed.), *The First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. Berkeley: University of California Press, vol. 1, pp. 417-54.

SWART, K.W., 1975. The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War. *Britain and the Netherlands* 5:36-57.

THEVET, ANDRÉ, 1557. *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique et de plusieurs terres et d'isles decouvertes de notre temps*. Paris: chez les héritiers de Maurice de la Porte.

—, 1575. *La Cosmographie universelle ...* 2 vols. Paris: Pierre L'Huiller.

VANDENBROECK, PAUL et al., 1992. *America, Bride of the Sun: 500 years Latin America and the Low Countries*. Ghent: Imschoot.

VESPUCCI, AMERIGO, 1509. *Diss Bûchlin saget wie die zwen durch lûchtigsten Herren Her Fernandus K. zû Castilien und Herr Emanuel K. zû Portugal haben das weyte mör ersüchet unnd funden vil Insulen und Nüwe welt von wilden nackenden Leüten, vormals unbekant*. Strassburg: J. Grüninger.

WAGNER, HENRY R., 1946. Peter Martyr and His Works. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 56:239-88.

WHATLEY, JANET, 1987-88. Une révérence réciproque: Huguenot Writing on the New World. *University of Toronto Quarterly* 57:270-89.

WHITEHEAD, P.J.P. & M. BOESEMANN, 1989. *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil; Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau*. Amsterdam: North Holland.

WEISS, E., 1909-10. Ein neues Bild Jan Mostaerts. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 20: 215-17.

ZÁRATE, AGUSTÍN DE, 1555. *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*. Antwerp: M. Nuyts.

—, 1563. *Conqueste van Indien: De wonderlijcke ende warachtighe Historie vant Coninckrijck van Peru geleghen in Indien*. Antwerp: J. Verwithagen.

J. BENJAMIN SCHMIDT
Department of History and Literature
Harvard University
Cambridge MA 02138, U.S.A.

MICHAEL ERISMAN

EVOLVING CUBAN-CARICOM RELATIONS: A COMPARATIVE COST/BENEFIT ANALYSIS

A fascinating and in many respects a somewhat peculiar courtship is underway in the Caribbean between Cuba and the English-speaking countries who collectively comprise the CARICOM association. The acronym CARICOM refers to the Caribbean Community and Common Market, a regional organization formed in 1973 to promote economic integration, cooperation in various functional areas (e.g., health, education, communications, transportation), and foreign policy coordination. CARICOM is a direct descendant of the West Indies Federation and CARIFTA (the Caribbean Free Trade Association). The Federation, an unsuccessful attempt at pre-independence political unification, operated from 1958 to 1962. In 1968 its ten former participants, along with Guyana, founded CARIFTA, which in 1973 was transformed into what is today known as CARICOM.¹

Historically, despite their close geographic proximity, Cuba and the CARICOM countries have for the most part displayed little inclination to establish truly close, cooperative ties. Instead, they have generally been content to maintain what diplomats cryptically call "correct" relations (which translated into policy usually means little more than extending formal recognition and perhaps exchanging ambassadors) while pursuing basically distinct and unrelated Hemispheric agendas. Havana's attention has (with a few exceptions that are noted later) been riveted primarily on the mainland Hispanic nations and on its triangular relationship with the two Cold War superpowers while CARICOM's members have focused mainly on questions related to the achievement of higher levels of intra-community integration and to North-South developmental programs (e.g.,

with the European Union via the Lomé Accords and with Washington via the CBI, Caribbean Basin Initiative).

A startling transformation of attitudes and policies has, however, occurred that has shattered this tradition of mutual indifference. On their part, the Cubans have become ardent CARICOM suitors, dispatching extremely high-level delegations throughout the region to explore the prospects for greater collaboration with their Anglophone neighbors at both the governmental and private sector levels. The keystone of this campaign has been Havana's efforts to establish an institutionalized relationship with CARICOM which would involve at a minimum close economic and developmental cooperation and ideally would lead to eventual Cuban membership in the organization or some equivalent thereof.²

The incentive for such initiatives is, of course, well known. For many years, Cuba's basic developmental needs were essentially guaranteed due to its special Soviet bloc ties involving preferential trade agreements and access to substantial amounts of assistance. One novel (and highly lucrative) aid program allowed Cuba to buy large amounts of Soviet oil on highly favorable terms (i.e., low prices with payment in rubles) and then sell whatever was left after its domestic demands had been met on the open market. This arrangement generated large amounts of hard currency that Havana then used to underwrite its purchase of Western goods and services (especially from the European Union and even from subsidiaries of U.S. corporations operating in third countries).

Such collaboration generated a ripple effect that spilled over into other issue areas. In particular, it served to lessen Havana's vulnerability to the economic warfare that Washington was waging against the Revolution while simultaneously enhancing the Fidelistas' capabilities to pursue an extremely audacious foreign policy. The 1970s were an especially active period for such globalism as Cuba made a generally successful bid to establish its credentials as a leader among the Third World nations, was heavily involved in two wars in Africa (Angola and Ethiopia), and launched ambitious military and developmental aid programs.

This equation changed radically as the socialist bloc and the benefits that the island reaped from its existence disappeared. No longer was Havana able to operate as it once did on international scene, implementing a complex strategy of capitalizing upon its Soviet/Eastern European ties to help stabilize its economy and thereby putting itself in a better position to play a vigorous proactive role in world affairs. Indeed, as opposed to functioning as a major influence-wielder on the international scene, it must now concentrate on minimizing its potential vulnerability to hostile external forces (particularly those centered in Washington and Miami).

Consequently Cuba is now trying to diversify its international relations, particularly the economic dimension thereof, as much as possible. It is within this overall context that its courtship of CARICOM has occurred.

More remarkable than these overtures themselves has been the CARICOM response. Previously the cultural and ideological differences that distinguished the English-speaking Caribbean from Cuba combined with concern about U.S. vindictiveness would likely have served to thwart any serious engagement. But clearly the phenomenon of a new international political order that has attracted so much attention at the global level has also arrived in the Caribbean, one of its most dramatic manifestations being the willingness of the CARICOM countries to embrace Havana's integration efforts despite Washington's threats of retaliation.

Can this novel experiment in South-South collaboration be sustained and perhaps even acquire added momentum? In an attempt to provide at least a preliminary answer, this inquiry will first survey the basic developmental dynamics involved in the Cuban-CARICOM courtship and then undertake a cost-risk/benefit analysis of the process from the perspective of both parties involved that hopefully will furnish some basis for probability projections regarding future trends in the relationship.

CUBA'S EVOLVING RELATIONS WITH THE CARICOM STATES

The early 1970s saw Havana launch an effort to normalize its relations across a broad spectrum of countries. In the CARICOM region, this initiative led to diplomatic ties with Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago in 1972. The most cordial links were forged with Jamaica following Michael Manley's election as prime minister in 1972. Although a democratic socialist rather than a Marxist, Manley nevertheless displayed considerable admiration for the Cuban Revolution (particularly following his 1976 re-election landslide). Not only did his foreign policy take on a more radically nonaligned coloration, but he also exhibited growing interest in the Fidelista model of socio-economic development. Havana, as might be expected, responded enthusiastically, extending substantial moral and material support to what it perceived to be Kingston's progressive proclivities. Certainly during his highly successful Jamaican tour (October 16-21, 1977), Castro seized every available opportunity to stress his eagerness to extend developmental aid, promising buses for Cuban-built schools, tractors for sugar cooperatives, prefabricated housing plants for construction workers, and doctors, teachers, and

technicians wherever they were needed. The attention lavished on Jamaica was not idiosyncratic, but rather could be seen as symptomatic of Havana's desire to play an increasingly assertive role in the Anglophone Caribbean. Accordingly, developmental aid personnel were also dispatched to other countries such as Guyana and St. Lucia.³

Beyond the progress registered by these normalization endeavors, a major breakthrough (at least from Havana's perspective) occurred in the radicalization of the area's politics when a group of young leftists led by Maurice Bishop staged the Commonwealth Caribbean's first successful armed insurrection in Grenada in March 1979 and proceeded to begin to implement their brand of radical socialism on the small island. Although the Cubans had played no direct role in Bishop's coup, they had maintained strong fraternal relations with his New Jewel Movement over the years and moved very quickly to demonstrate their ongoing solidarity with his new government by providing arms, security advisors, and various types of developmental assistance.

Ironically, just as it appeared that Cuba's increased Caribbean assertiveness was beginning to pay major dividends, the political waters suddenly became more murky as the prevailing flow of the ideological tides shifted. The emergence of Bishop's regime in Grenada as well as the triumph of Nicaragua's Sandinistas in July 1979 were obviously bright spots for Havana, but elsewhere in the Caribbean moderates and indeed often strongly anti-communist conservatives scored a series of electoral victories over left-wing parties. The most important race occurred in Jamaica (October 1980) where Harvard-educated Edward Seaga won convincingly with 57.6 percent of the vote over incumbent Michael Manley.⁴ Shortly thereafter, following the lead of the new Reagan administration in Washington, Kingston adopted a hardline anti-Cuban stance; diplomatic relations were severed in October 1981 and practically all Cubans were expelled from the island.

The emergence of this increasingly inhospitable environment was accelerated by developments in Washington, where Ronald Reagan assumed office determined not only to pursue the containment concept much more vigorously than many of his predecessors, but also to incorporate into his foreign policy an idea long dear to the radical right in the United States – the rollback of communism. Accordingly the Reagan Doctrine, which committed Washington to providing strong material and logistical support for insurgent movements fighting to overthrow (Third World) Marxist regimes, began to be implemented, with the Caribbean and Central America as major theaters of operations. Such intransigence, especially when combined with the 1983 Grenadian invasion which

demonstrated that the United States was willing to use its own troops to move against Caribbean governments which it perceived as being too radical and perhaps too closely aligned with Cuba, had a sobering effect in many quarters, causing some who otherwise may have been inclined towards cordial relations to begin to put some distance between themselves and Havana. Such tendencies were reinforced by the fact that Cuba did not always assign the Caribbean a very prominent place on its international agenda during the 1980s, preferring instead to give higher priority to Central America and non-Hemispheric Third World affairs. This situation was summarized by Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister for American Affairs Ramón Sánchez Parodi when he stated in a December 1989 interview that

Washington's hostile policy against the Cuban government has been a very important factor in the links with countries that are economically dependent on the United States. But we must also acknowledge that there was a lack of diplomatic work [on our part] and our foreign policy didn't give the [CARICOM] area adequate priority. (Quoted in Cotman 1993:146)

Having made this admission, Sánchez Parodi indicated that Havana now was inclined to try to re-energize the Caribbean dimension of its foreign policy. Driven by the growing need to diversify its economic relationships as the Soviet bloc crumbled around it, Havana began to devote serious attention in the early 1990s to building new or stronger bridges to the Anglophone Caribbean.

This process began to gain momentum in late 1990 when, in response to Cuban overtures as well as CARICOM's desire to expand participation in the organization, the CARICOM heads of state decided at their 11th summit conference (August 1990, Jamaica) to launch serious discussions with Havana regarding the possibilities for increased economic co-operation. A series of meetings followed in which significant progress was made toward an agreement covering a wide range of topics, but complications then developed when objections were raised by some CARICOM members to expanding contacts and collaboration with Havana as long as tensions continued between Cuba and Grenada (which had severed all relations with the Fidelistas as a result of the 1983 crisis). Havana, once again demonstrating its interest in strengthening its CARICOM connections, responded by launching a campaign to resolve its differences with the Grenadian authorities. Following discussions highlighted by high-level meetings at the 12th CARICOM summit (July 1991, St. Kitts and Nevis) and a February 1992 CARICOM conference in

Jamaica, the two parties finally announced in May 1992 that they were re-establishing normal diplomatic ties.⁵

With this obstacle removed, the bridge-building process moved forward swiftly on a variety of fronts. In May 1993, for example, Havana established diplomatic relations with St. Vincent and the Grenadines, followed by normalization with Antigua and Barbuda in April 1994.⁶ More important, however, from both an economic and even a symbolic perspective, was the June 1992 decision by the 31-member Caribbean Tourism Organization (CTO) to approve Havana's application for admission. Cuba, of course, had dominated the Caribbean tourism industry in the pre-revolutionary period. It was only after the rupture of the island's relations with the United States and Havana's subsequent de-emphasis of tourism as it concentrated on establishing alternative economic linkages with the socialist bloc that other Caribbean countries began to develop a truly significant presence in the industry. The disintegration of the socialist bloc and with it Havana's preferential arrangements forced Cuba to reassess its entire economic posture, including its position on tourism. The basic problem that Havana faced was both simple and terrifying; it now had to conduct practically all of its foreign trade on a hard currency basis, a commodity of which it had little in the way of readily available reserves. In short, Cuba was confronted the daunting prospect of having to acquire large amounts of dollars, pounds, francs, marks, and the like in order to be able to service its extensive import needs. Hence tourism, which was perceived as an extremely productive source of such funds, once again moved to the forefront of the island's economic agenda. This development was viewed with some trepidation in the CARICOM area, for it was recognized that Cuba could emerge as a formidable competitor in the highly lucrative Western European and Canadian markets (although the main prize – the United States – remained beyond its reach). Faced with the question of whether to close ranks against the island in an effort to frustrate its tourism aspirations or to enter into what would hopefully be a mutually beneficial cooperative relationship with it, the CTO (wherein the CARICOM countries are the most influential bloc) chose the latter course.⁷

Although CARICOM has traditionally restricted its membership to territories that were formerly part of the British Empire, it has in recent years become increasingly committed to broadening its scope. Thus far this effort has been limited to granting official observer status to interested parties (with Haiti and the Dominican Republic being most frequently mentioned as leading candidates for eventual full membership). The 13th CARICOM summit conference (June 1992, Trinidad) saw similar initiatives

taken on the Cuban front. While Havana's request for official observer status was not approved (due, it was reported, in large part to intense counter-lobbying by the United States), CARICOM did take what was generally seen as an important first step toward eventual Cuban membership by voting to establish a joint commission to explore the prospects for greater CARICOM-Cuban cooperation in the areas of trade, developmental programs, and cultural exchanges.⁸

This new tolerance was apparent in the increasing criticism levelled by CARICOM leaders at Washington's economic blockade of the island. The immediate catalyst for their displeasure was the Cuban Democracy Act or Torricelli Bill (passed by Congress and embraced by President Clinton), which prohibited the overseas subsidiaries of U.S. corporations from dealing with Cuba as well as imposing other restrictions designed to discourage countries from trading with the island. Perhaps the most vivid illustration of such sentiment came when Eugenia Charles, the leader of Dominica who had previously been one of the Caribbean's most fervent supporters of the Reagan administration's intransigent anti-Castroism, said in February 1993 that "I don't think that the embargo should continue – they should let people trade with Cuba if they want to."⁹ She reiterated this position the following month, declaring that Dominica would trade with Havana as long as it remained profitable to do so and that "the U.S. must realize that we [in the CARICOM region] are independent countries and in the same way that they choose their friends we must be allowed to choose ours ... If they haven't realized that the Cold War is over, we have."¹⁰

Buoyed by such shifts in the political and economic winds, Cuba reciprocated with various gestures to advance its courtship of the CARICOM countries. In April 1993, for example, Havana hosted a special seminar for Caribbean business leaders designed to spur their interest in taking advantage of the extremely liberal reforms that had been instituted in the island's joint venture and foreign investment laws.¹¹ During these meetings the Cubans stressed the significant growth that had already occurred in their trade with the Caribbean area (rising from US\$ 8.7 million in 1987 to \$ 17.7 million in 1992) and their intense interest in maintaining such upward trends.¹²

A temporary disruption in the process of setting up the joint CARICOM-Cuba Cooperation Commission (initiated at the 1992 CARICOM summit) occurred in May 1993 when Havana objected to the inclusion in the draft document of a clause stating that CARICOM endorsed the OAS (Organization of American States) philosophy regarding questions of government and politics in the Hemisphere. A key issue here

was a fall 1992 vote taken in the OAS that accepted the restoration of democracy as a legitimate rationale for approving regional military interventions.¹³ Ultimately this problem was resolved to Havana's satisfaction when the 14th CARICOM summit (July 1993, the Bahamas) accepted an agreement setting up the Commission that made no mention of democracy, human rights, or any similar item as a precondition for cooperation between the two parties. Instead, responding to Cuban suggestions, the document was modelled on similar CARICOM accords with Mexico and Venezuela wherein such matters were not raised.¹⁴

Washington was certainly less than enthralled by this turn of events. Clinton administration officials had lobbied participants in the Nassau summit hard to adopt the U.S. tactic of employing economic tools to force *political/ideological concessions from Havana* and were extremely unhappy when these entreaties were ignored. The response by some members of Congress was even more heavy-handed. Led by vehemently anti-Fidelista Representative Robert Torricelli (Democrat, New Jersey and Chair of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs), several members of the House sent a letter to CARICOM leaders threatening to deny their countries any future trade concessions (especially under the aegis of NAFTA – the then emerging North American Free Trade Association) if they did not rescind their decision to delete the human rights provisions from their agreement with Cuba.¹⁵ The paragraph containing this ultimatum reads as follows:

We had hoped that it would be possible to construct a free trade area in this hemisphere based on our countries' shared commitment to democratic values. Regrettably, those of us who have promoted this concept in the Congress must now reconsider our support for it. It simply is not possible for us to support the extension of trade benefits to the Caribbean region if we believe that the ultimate beneficiary will be the Cuban dictatorship.¹⁶

Given the fact that Havana had made its position clear that such preconditions were unacceptable, what in effect was being demanded was that CARICOM abandon its efforts to expand trade and economic cooperation with the island.

This letter (which was widely perceived as nothing less than blatant economic blackmail) infuriated many CARICOM government officials and other authorities. The general consensus was that evolving CARICOM relations with Havana were a purely intraregional matter and that the process would proceed regardless of any misgivings on Washington's part. The official CARICOM response was contained in a letter dated

August 19, 1993 from Edwin Carrington (CARICOM General Secretary) to the authors of the Torricelli letter. The key section states:

The basic relationship which the Caribbean Community and its Member States maintain with Cuba, *and which it is not proposed to change* [italics added], can be viewed in the same light as those which presently exist between Cuba and other hemispheric countries such as Canada and Mexico. CARICOM Heads of Government have noted that Canada is in a Free Trade Area with the United States. Also that Canada, Mexico, and the United States propose to launch the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) in January 1994. They therefore find it difficult to understand the basis for the concerns that the economic benefits from trade between the United States and CARICOM will flow through to Cuba from a Technical Cooperation Agreement when that does not occur in other cases.¹⁷

This posture was maintained when five CARICOM leaders (Cheddi Jagan of Guyana, Erskine Sandiford of Barbados, Patrick Manning of Trinidad and Tobago, P.J. Patterson of Jamaica, and Hubert Ingraham of the Bahamas) held a meeting with President Clinton in Washington on August 30, 1993. In the press conference following this gathering, it was apparent that both sides had quietly "agreed to disagree" on the Cuban question and preferred to avoid as much as possible any public comment on the issue.¹⁸ However, what should not be overshadowed by such diplomatic politeness was the fact that the CARICOM delegation *had not* bowed to U.S. pressure, but instead remained committed to developing a closer, more cooperative relationship with Havana.

This sentiment was manifested institutionally in the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), which was first proposed in 1991 by the blue-ribbon West Indian Commission (headed by Shridath Ramphal of Guyana) that had been established in 1989 to provide CARICOM leaders with ideas regarding future directions for the organization. According to John Cotman (1994:19), the

ACS is to comprise 38 nations and colonies: the islands of the Antilles [including Cuba], Guyana, Suriname, and all countries with Caribbean coasts, except the United States. With approximately 150 million people, and a total gross domestic product of \$325 billion dollars, the Association of Caribbean States would allow the English-speaking Caribbean nations to integrate with the region and hopefully gain access to the immense markets in North and South America.

As envisaged by CARICOM leaders the Association of Caribbean States will be an intergovernmental institution concerned with economic and social development. Its mandate would exclude political and security matters.

The ACS concept was endorsed by CARICOM at its 14th summit (July 1993, the Bahamas). Subsequently, based upon this commitment, a joint CARICOM/Group of Three (G-3 = Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia) conference was convened in Trinidad (October 1993) that issued the Port-of-Spain Declaration wherein an official call was issued for the creation of the ACS (including Cuba). The treaty formally launching the organization was signed by its twenty-four charter members on July 24, 1994 in Cartagena, Colombia.¹⁹

Further evidence of the increasing Cuba-CARICOM cordiality can be found in the shifting pattern of Anglophone voting in the United Nations on resolutions condemning the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba. Havana had sponsored such General Assembly resolutions in both 1992 and 1993. Although the October 1992 version passed (59 to 3 with 71 abstentions), only Barbados and Jamaica sided with the Fidelistas while the rest of the CARICOM contingent either abstained or were not present for the balloting. By November 1993 this situation had radically changed; ten of the twelve CARICOM members of the UN censured Washington's position (the overall tally being 88 in favor of the anti-blockade resolution, 4 opposed, 57 abstaining, and 35 not voting). Only Grenada and Antigua-Barbuda chose once again to remain on the sidelines.²⁰

On December 13, 1993 the CARICOM-Cuba Joint Commission that had aroused so much consternation in Washington was officially established at a document-signing ceremony in Georgetown, Guyana. The agreement, which is scheduled to run for five years, covers a wide spectrum of economic, technological, and cultural collaboration, some of the more high-profile areas being biotechnology, trade, private investment, and tourism. Routine administration of the cooperation programs as well as expansion of the relationship will be supervised by various working groups appointed by the joint commission.²¹

Beyond such formal agreements, the importance now accorded to CARICOM-Cuban relations on each party's respective international agendas can be seen by the high volume of official and unofficial traffic criss-crossing the region. Government trade delegations, legislators, scientific and technological experts, doctors, educators, artists and entertainers, entrepreneurs, and various managerial personnel (e.g., from the tourism sector) as well as the diplomats necessary to drive forward the process of increased cooperation have been constantly on the move. Such networking has been especially pronounced on the part of the Cubans. For example, in November 1993 Havana's Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina embarked on a highly publicized Caribbean sojourn which took him to Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent,

Jamaica, and the Bahamas. This was the first CARICOM tour by a Cuban foreign minister in twenty-one years. Robaina's schedule included not only the normal discussions with governmental officials, but also meetings with private sector representatives who were lobbied hard by the Cubans to expand their commercial exchanges with the island and especially to take advantage of its campaign to attract foreign investors.²² But perhaps most dramatic was Castro's unannounced trip to Barbados in May 1994 where he attended a UN-sponsored summit conference on sustainable development and delivered a vintage firebrand speech that castigated the developed nations for pursuing policies that make economic progress in small countries extremely difficult, if not impossible.²³ Undoubtedly a leitmotif underlying Fidel's surprise visit to Bridgetown was his desire to demonstrate through such a flamboyant gesture the depth and seriousness of Cuba's commitment to greater cooperation and integration with its CARICOM neighbors.

COST-RISK/BENEFIT ANALYSIS: CARICOM

Perhaps the most important potential disincentive to improved relations as far as the CARICOM countries are concerned centers on the reaction of the United States and particularly the extent to which Washington is inclined to link NAFTA/CBI concessions to the Cuban question. What CARICOM would prefer, irrespective of its relationship with Havana, is at least some revision of the proposed NAFTA agreement that would serve to protect and enhance the economic advantages accruing to the region under the CBI program. Ideally, of course, the CARICOM group would like to be offered full NAFTA membership under conditions that would maintain its CBI benefits.

It is, of course, questionable whether overall the CBI has contributed to CARICOM development. There are considerable data indicating that it has not. Admittedly there have been sectors where it would appear that the posture of the Anglophone countries has improved due to the CBI and some countries have, as might be expected, been more successful than others in capitalizing on the program. The aggregate figures, however, project a much more somber picture. For example, between 1983 (the year prior to full implementation of the CBI) and 1991, Caribbean participants saw the balance sheet of their trade with the United States shift from a surplus to a deficit. This phenomenon can to some extent, suggests Anthony Bryan (1994), be explained by a drop in petroleum prices, but declining U.S. sugar quotas and other protectionist measures have also

contributed to the problem. In any case, whatever the specific economic dynamics involved, the bottom line is that the CBI has not delivered on the predictions of its proponents that it would help significantly to stimulate export-driven development in Caribbean countries by enhancing their ability to compete in the U.S. market. To the contrary, by the end of 1991 U.S. imports from CARICOM members were a mere 63 percent of 1984 values while the trade performance vis-à-vis the United States of the entire CBI region during this period was below the Third World average. This track record, concludes Bryan (1994:93), combined with

The implementation of the NAFTA ... raises questions about [the CBI's] viability. As tariff barriers continue to fall in the Western Hemisphere, the relative advantage of the CBI diminishes. From a Caribbean perspective, membership in the NAFTA ... would be preferable to membership only in the CBI.

This brings us back, however, to the problem of Washington's tendency to intertwine NAFTA with concerns about a CARICOM country's relations with Havana.

Reports following the August 30, 1993 meeting between President Clinton and five CARICOM heads of state suggested that the United States was sending mixed signals on the Cuba-NAFTA linkage issue.

U.S. administration sources told the press after the White House meeting that the Caribbean states were informed that the improvement of relations with the U.S. will be tied to an effort in favor of the democratization of Cuba. But they also were given a guarantee that no Caribbean state will be economically sanctioned for adopting measures to improve their relations with Cuba.²⁴

This linkage question could, however, be moot since Washington had previously indicated that no NAFTA concessions would be made to CARICOM in any case. Certainly this was the position taken by David Malpass, the Bush administration's Deputy Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, when he declared in an August 1992 interview that a special arrangement for CARICOM was "simply not the direction that we see our policy heading." He went on to say that he did not "think it works to the benefit of the [Caribbean] countries to be in a dependency relationship where they get better access to the US markets than the US gets into their markets," advising instead that they move decisively toward full trade liberalization by removing all barriers to the free flow of goods, services, and capital between themselves and the outside world (particularly the United States).²⁵ President Clinton did little to refute this

hard line in his August 1993 meeting with CARICOM leaders, conceding only that he recognized that they were concerned that NAFTA might negatively affect them and promising to consult with them after an impact study had been made.

As the significance of the cost/risk dimension of the equation fades given the CBI's mediocre performance and the uncertainty regarding NAFTA membership anytime in the near future, the potential benefits involved in a closer CARICOM relation with Havana become increasingly salient. Beyond the obvious trade and investment opportunities that Cuba might afford, two matters in particular merit special attention – the tourism sector and a brokerage role for Havana.

Tourism is vital to most CARICOM economies and their trepidation about possible Cuban competition was discussed previously. Confronted with the specter of either fighting the Cubans on the tourism front or embracing them as allies, CARICOM appears to have concluded that prudence dictates pursuing the latter course. Certainly a key consideration leading to this conclusion was the realization that a high level of mutual self-interest is involved; the development of the Cuban tourism sector will almost certainly be enhanced by a cooperative relationship which likewise will serve to benefit the CARICOM countries. For example, Havana has been seeking large infusions of foreign investment capital to upgrade and expand its tourist facilities. Among those responding have been such CARICOM-based operators as Jamaican businessman John Issa, who has launched several joint resort ventures at Cuba's famed Veradero Beach. Another Jamaican firm, Super Clubs, is involved in similar projects in Santa Lucía as well as Veradero. The deep reservoir of management/marketing expertise that CARICOM tourism professionals have accumulated over the years likewise represents a major resource base upon which profitable collaboration with the Cubans can be established.

One innovative outcome of this emphasis on symbiotic networking has been the recent efforts to stimulate multi-destination tourism in the Caribbean, the basic idea being to circulate vacationers among various islands and thereby share the revenues generated. Such a strategy serves the interests of both parties – the Fidelistas can rely on their more experienced CARICOM colleagues to effectively promote and handle the basic logistics of such packages while the Caribbean countries are provided a mechanism to protect and perhaps even enhance their market shares (e.g., in large mainland Hispanic nations) against what otherwise might prove to be formidable Cuban competition for the tourist dollar.

The concept of a brokerage role for Cuba relates to the growing sentiment within CARICOM regarding the need for and potential benefits

of closer, more cooperative relations with mainland Latin America. Traditionally neither the Anglophone nor the mainland Hispanic countries have displayed much interest in each other, at least in a positive sense. Part, if not much, of this legacy can be attributed to cultural and historical factors. In particular, the Latin Americans were suspicious of the fact that while the CARICOM nations had repudiated Western imperialism in terms of achieving statehood, they continued to maintain very close relations with London and enthusiastically embraced the British parliamentary system of government. Such attitudes were seen by many Hispanics as evidence that the Anglophone countries had not made a complete break with their colonial past and therefore could not be trusted as partners since they really were not fully independent (in either a psychological or behavioral sense). In 1969, for example, Jamaica's application to join the OAS was initially vetoed by Bolivia on the grounds that Kingston had not, despite having achieved independence in 1962, broken all of its colonial ties with England. The marked difference in political cultures also constituted a barrier to mutual understanding and empathy. The West Indians were, whether deliberately or not, frequently somewhat contemptuous of the Latin Americans' seeming inability or unwillingness to jettison their authoritarian/dictatorial traditions. The Hispanics, on the other hand, were often just as prone to view CARICOM's Westminster systems as alien imports which had little relevance to the needs and conditions of developing societies in the Western Hemisphere. The negative perceptions on both sides generated by such cognitive filters were, along with substantive policy differences (e.g., CARICOM's refusal to support Argentina in the Falklands/Malvinas war), a major consideration impeding the emergence of more cooperative West Indian-Latin American ties.

Clearly CARICOM now wishes to reverse this situation (Erisman 1992: 88-91, 139-42). It is here that Cuba enters the picture as a potential broker, for it occupies the rather unique position of having both a strong Caribbean and Hispanic dimension to its national personality. On the one hand, it shares some important traits with its Anglophone neighbors; there has, for instance, always been a strong African component within its population that has greatly influenced its religious and artistic development while its economic history can to a great extent be seen as the product of the plantation society experience common in the West Indies. Concurrently Cuba, despite its sometimes stormy relations with various Latin American governments, has always been considered in a historical and cultural sense to be part of the Hispanic Hemispheric community. Moreover, in recent years the Fidelistas have been highly successful in normalizing their political relations with their Latin American neighbors. In

the process they have emerged as highly-respected advocates of greater Hemispheric cooperation/integration on both the economic and diplomatic fronts. Combine all these factors and Cuba stands out as being exceptionally qualified to serve as a catalyst to forge a much closer, more cooperative link between the CARICOM and mainland Hispanic countries.²⁶

COST-RISK/BENEFIT ANALYSIS: CUBA

Probably the only serious risk that Havana might confront in terms of its evolving relations with the Anglophone states is being forced to choose between greater cooperation with them or with the broader Latin American community. In particular, this dilemma could emerge should Cuba be invited to become a full-fledged member of CARICOM. The potential problem here is that CARICOM is now displaying greater determination to transform itself into a true common market, which implies such characteristics as a comprehensive system of uniform external tariffs, the free movement of labor and capital among participants, and a high degree of preferential coordination with regard to developmental strategies along with the establishment of the necessary supportive mechanisms (e.g., a common currency and/or some kind of a *de facto* central banking operation). CARICOM membership under such conditions could prove to be incompatible with Havana's desire to integrate itself more closely with mainland Latin America and thus force it to forego one set of cooperative relationships.

Realistically, however, this zero-sum scenario is unlikely to occur, for CARICOM has made it plain that any internal strengthening of the organization will take place only within a larger context of greater cooperation and integration with the Hemisphere's Hispanic community. The Anglophone commitment to the Association of Caribbean States as well as various CARICOM-Latin American free trade arrangements (discussed below) that are being established suggest that this process of forging strong Hemispheric links will continue to enjoy high priority in the foreseeable future. Accordingly, the CARICOM/Latin American components of Havana's international agenda can be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive.

Assuming that this picture does not change radically and that the CARICOM states remain receptive to Cuban overtures, one can pinpoint a number of incentives for Havana to proceed with its courtship of the Anglophone Caribbean. Surprisingly, given the fact that almost all discussions of future cooperation have revolved around economic themes, it

is questionable whether CARICOM in and of itself has much to offer Havana in terms of such things as *direct* trade benefits. The total CARICOM population is roughly six million, which is not a particularly large market (although per capita income figures for the region are fairly high by LDC standards). It is true that Cuban trade with the Caribbean has been growing rapidly, the total figure doubling from US\$ 8.7 million in 1987 to US\$ 17.7 million in 1992.²⁷ But US\$ 17.7 million is a relative drop in the bucket in terms of the island's overall foreign trade; it represented, for example, only 1.4 percent of Cuba's total 1992 exports of approximately US\$ 1.286 billion. Consequently, aside perhaps from collaboration in such fields as multi-destination tourism where the prospects for mutual benefits would appear to be considerable, one must move beyond trade issues to the broader aspects of Cuban-CARICOM rapprochement. Here special attention will be focused on the extent to which a CARICOM link might prove useful in helping to provide Havana with access to other markets and centers of economic and developmental resources.

One fascinating dimension of this topic is its implications with regard to possible Cuban involvement in the Lomé process. The genesis of Lomé can be traced to England's decision to join the European Union (EU). London's pending entry sent shock waves through the Third World members of the British Commonwealth, who feared that their privileged access to British markets was now in jeopardy. Consequently, when given the opportunity under the provisions of the January 1972 Treaty of Accession which ushered London into the EU to establish an institutionalized association with the *entire* European Union, the developing Commonwealth nations formed the ACP (Africa-Caribbean-Pacific) Group to serve as their agent. ACP membership was quickly expanded to include the former colonies of other European powers (especially France) and the forty-six participating governments then proceeded to enter into discussions in pursuit of a comprehensive new relationship with the EU. The result was the 1975 Lomé (I) Convention, which has subsequently been renegotiated every five years – Lomé II-1980, Lomé III-1985, and Lomé IV-1990 (Ravenhill 1985; Frey-Wouters 1980). While the Lomé experience has not, as perhaps should have been expected, always lived up to the initial ACP expectations, it nevertheless represents a major accomplishment on the part of the Third World nations – specifically, the acquisition and exercise of collective bargaining power within the context of periodic negotiations over the exact terms of at least some important aspects of the North-South economic relationship.

Since the West Indian countries have long played a highly influential role in ACP/Lomé affairs, significantly improved Cuban-CARICOM ties

could markedly enhance Havana's prospects for joining the ACP and becoming a party to the Lomé accords. Indeed the Dominican Republic has already set the precedent that a Hispanic Caribbean country can, given its status as a former colony of an EU member (i.e., Spain), be incorporated into the ACP Group and become a signatory to the Lomé conventions. After several years of hard lobbying, Santo Domingo finally succeeded in having its application to join Lomé approved and formally ratified the Lomé IV agreement in November 1990 (Granel 1991). Obviously a similar move on Havana's part could contribute greatly to its efforts not only to stabilize, but hopefully also to expand its trade-aid links with Western Europe.

Another potential access dividend is the CARICOM-Venezuela free trade accord. Caracas has long been interested in playing a more active, influential role in Caribbean affairs and hence has undertaken various initiatives to cement a closer association with CARICOM. One key outcome of these efforts emerged from the 12th CARICOM summit (July 1991, St. Kitts) when it was announced that a preliminary agreement had been reached that opened the way for West Indian exports to enjoy duty-free access to the Venezuelan market. A formal treaty to this effect was signed on October 13, 1992, its main provisions being as follows: approximately 1,300 CARICOM products will be afforded duty-free access to Venezuela for a five-year period (1993-98), with some items on the list being phased in more slowly than others; collaboration in trade financing and transportation as well as the promotion of joint ventures will be undertaken; and two-way free trade will replace the one-way arrangement at the end of the initial five-year period (i.e., after 1998, Venezuelan exports will be allowed duty-free entry by the CARICOM countries).²⁸ CARICOM signed a similar accord with Colombia in July 1994, the main difference in this case being a provision that allows for extension of one-way free trade beyond the initial five-year period for the smaller CARICOM members until such time as their economies have developed to the point where they would not be seriously disadvantaged in opening their domestic markets to duty-free Colombian imports.²⁹ The possibility of participating in such free trade agreements should be extremely attractive to Havana, especially if they offer the prospect of ameliorating the island's desperate situation with regard to petroleum imports.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis suggests that there is little in the way of serious disincentives that might lead either Cuba or the CARICOM nations to abandon efforts to expand and deepen their relationship, the main caveat being the possibility that Washington might offer the Anglophone nations (individually or as a group) membership in an expanded NAFTA program on highly attractive terms. Conversely, there appear to be sufficient potential benefits involved for both sides to maintain and perhaps even accelerate the process.

One should not, however, assume that Cuban-CARICOM integration will enjoy top priority on either party's international agenda. While the West Indians have established a rather high profile in the realm of South-South politics (Erisman 1992) that is consistent with a campaign for closer ties with Havana, the Fidelistas represent just one piece of this mosaic. Consequently it can be assumed that the Cuban question will subsume within rather than take precedence over this larger dimension of CARICOM foreign policy.

In Havana's case, trade and aid exigencies that in some respects can be seen so severe as to threaten the very survival of the Revolution demand that primary attention be focused on those centers of power which have at their disposal massive economic resources (e.g., in terms of markets, investment capital, technological and managerial expertise, ability to provide substantial credit lines, etc.). The English-speaking Caribbean does not, for the most part, fit this profile, at least not in comparison to other actors on the world stage such as Western Europe, Canada, Japan, China, or even certain Latin American nations like Brazil that are often considered to fall into the NIC (Newly Industrializing Countries) category.

Ultimately, then, barring some unforeseen turn of events, it can be expected that the process of growing Cuban-CARICOM cooperation will move forward in a steady, but unspectacular fashion. As such, it is unlikely to receive much attention, for it will lack the melodramatic quality that tends to attract the news media or scholars whose perceptions of international affairs are limited to exercises in crisis management. Yet in the long run this approach may prove to be the best vehicle for establishing a firm foundation upon which a high degree of collaboration and/or integration involving significant mutual benefits can be built.

NOTES

1. The thirteen English-speaking members of CARICOM, with their dates of independence from Great Britain in parentheses, are: Jamaica (1962), Trinidad and Tobago (1962), Barbados (1966), Guyana (1966), the Bahamas (1973), Grenada (1974), Dominica (1978), St. Lucia (1979), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1979), Antigua and Barbuda (1981), Belize (1981), St. Kitts-Nevis (1983), and Montserrat (the only non-independent member of the organization). In February 1995, Suriname became the first country with no history of colonial ties to Britain to be granted full CARICOM membership. Suriname, with a 1994 population of approximately 400,000, is a former Dutch colony that achieved independence from the Netherlands in November 1975. It had held Observer status in CARICOM prior to the approval of its application for full membership.
2. CARICOM has two levels of involvement in the organization below that of full membership. These are: A) Associate Membership, which is currently held by the British Virgin Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands; and B) Observer Status, which thus far has been acquired by Anguilla, Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, the Netherlands Antilles, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. Although not an official requirement or procedure, the current tendency is for interested parties to become Observers before seeking to move upward (with non-independent territories being most likely to become Associates while fully independent countries would probably be more inclined to pursue full membership). Havana appears to be committed to this formula, having indicated that its most immediate goal in terms of a formal CARICOM affiliation is to become an Observer.
3. Cuba did not limit its aid to the Anglophone Caribbean but also provided aid to Desi Bouterse's Suriname.
4. Other moderate-conservative leaders who were elected in the late 1970s or early 1980s were Milton Cato in St. Vincent (December 1979), Kennedy Simmonds in St. Kitts-Nevis (February 1980), Vere Bird in Antigua (April 1980), Eugenia Charles in Dominica (July 1980), George Chambers in Trinidad and Tobago (November 1981), John Compton in St. Lucia (May 1982), and Lynden Pindling in the Bahamas (June 1982).
5. *CubaInfo Newsletter*, August 2, 1991, p. 4 and May 18, 1992, p. 4; Cotman 1993:146-47.
6. See Cotman 1994:11 regarding the status of Havana's formal diplomatic relations with members of CARICOM as of mid-1994. A summary of that information is as follows: formal diplomatic relations established with Barbados, December 1972; Guyana, December 1972; Trinidad and Tobago, December 1972; Bahamas, November 1974; St. Lucia, August 1979; Jamaica, relations broken in October 1981 and restored in July 1990; St. Vincent and the Grenadines, May 1993; Antigua and Barbuda, April 1994; and Grenada, relations suspended in December 1983 and resumed in April 1994. Belize maintains only consular relations with Havana (established February 1992) while Dominica, St. Kitts and Nevis, and Montserrat do not yet have any formal diplomatic or consular ties with Cuba.
7. *CubaInfo Newsletter*, July 21, 1992, p. 4.

8. *CubaInfo Newsletter*, July 21, 1992, p. 4; *Caribbean Contact*, July/August 1992, p. 10; and "CARICOM Considers Closer Trade Relations with Cuba," Inter Press Service, April 2, 1993. [Synopsis of reports are provided via electronic mail by PeaceNet.]
9. Quoted in *CubaInfo Newsletter*, February 26, 1993, p. 3.
10. Quoted in *CubaInfo Newsletter*, April 12, 1993, p. 4.
11. Kaplowitz & Kaplowitz 1992; Jessop 1992; "Doing Business with Cuba," *Granma Weekly Review*, October 7, 1990, p. 8 and "Joint Ventures in Cuba," *Granma Weekly Review*, November 25, 1990, p. 12.
12. "Cozying up to the Caribbean," *Granma Weekly Review*, April 26, 1993 [a summary of *Granma* news reports provided via electronic mail from Havana by the Grupo de Video Joven Club].
13. *CubaInfo Newsletter*, May 21, 1993, p. 4.
14. *CubaInfo Newsletter*, July 16, 1993, p. 7.
15. "Cuba-Caribbean Commission Gains Support Despite US Threats", Associated Press, August 11, 1993 [via electronic mail].
16. Quoted from a copy of the letter provided to the author by a Cuban academic colleague.
17. Quoted from a copy of the Carrington letter provided to the author by a Cuban academic colleague.
18. White House, Office of the Press Secretary, August 30, 1993; "Caribbean Countries Won't Exclude Cuba from Regional Matters," *La Prensa*, September 3, 1993 [both via electronic mail].
19. *CubaInfo Newsletter*, November 5, 1993, p. 7 and April 8, 1994, p. 7; Scales, 1993; *Caribbean Week*, August 6-19, 1994, pp. 1-2; and *Granma International*, July 27, 1994, p. 15.
20. The CARICOM members voting against the embargo in 1993 were the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. This voting data was taken from "U.N. Votes to End U.S. Embargo," *CubaInfo Newsletter*, November 5, 1993 and Cotman 1994:21. A slight discrepancy with respect to the 1992 vote exists between the data provided in the two sources mentioned above and information provided via electronic mail by the Latin America Data Base where it is stated in "Cuba and Caribbean Community Inaugurate New 'Joint Commission'," *Chronicle*, December 16, 1993 that three CARICOM governments, which were not named, voted with Havana on the 1992 anti-blockade resolution.
21. Cotman 1994:24-25; "Cuba, English-Speaking Caribbean Sign Agreement to Set Up Regional Group," Associated Press, December 13, 1993 [via electronic mail]; and "Cuba and Caribbean Community Inaugurate New 'Joint Commission'," *Chronicle*, December 16, 1993.
22. "Cuban Minister Starts Caribbean Tour: Ready to Talk to U.S.," Associated Press, November 11, 1993 [via electronic mail]; and *CubaInfo Newsletter*, November

24, 1993, p. 7

23. "Castro Calls for Caribbean Cooperation," United Press International, May 5, 1994; "Castro Urges Poor Nations to Stand Up against Rich," Reuter News Agency, May 5, 1994 [both via electronic mail].

24. "Caribbean Countries Won't Exclude Cuba from Regional Matters," *La Prensa*, September 3, 1993; see also White House, Office of the Press Secretary, August 30, 1993.

25. *Latin American Regional Reports*, October 1, 1992, p. 8.

26. The Dominican Republic, which holds Observer status in CARICOM, could also been seen as having many of the attributes that would allow it to operate as a link between CARICOM and the larger Hispanic community. There is, however, one crucial component missing from the Dominican resumé – an established record of activism and leadership in Hemispheric circles. Indeed compared to Havana, which has functioned in such prestigious capacities as the Latin American representative to the U.N. Security Council, Santo Domingo has for the most part, both figuratively and literally, remained on the fringes of Hemispheric affairs. Thus, assuming that experience constitutes a key element in the diplomatic equation, Cuba would appear to be the stronger candidate to serve as CARICOM's Latin American broker.

27. "Cozying up to the Caribbean," *Granma Weekly Review*, April 26, 1993 [via electronic mail]. Non-Anglophone Caribbean countries trading with Cuba include the Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Martin, and the Netherlands Antilles.

28. *Latin American Regional Reports*, July 26, 1991, p. 1 and November 5, 1992, p. 5; and *Caribbean Affairs*, 6(1) 1993, Special Supplement Containing Full Text of the CARICOM-Venezuela Free Trade Agreement.

29. *Caribbean Week*, August 6-19, 1994, p. 4.

REFERENCES

BRYAN, ANTHONY, 1994. Beyond NAFTA: CARICOM Dilemma. *Caribbean Affairs* 7(1):90-104.

COTMAN, JOHN WALTON, 1993. Cuba and the CARICOM States: The Last Decade. In Donna Rich Kaplowitz (ed.), *Cuba's Ties To A Changing World*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 145-64.

—, 1994. Cuba and CARICOM since 1983: From Isolation toward Integration. Unpublished paper, 18th International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia.

ERISMAN, H. MICHAEL, 1992. *Pursuing Postdependency Politics: South-South Relations in the Caribbean*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

FREY-WOUTERS, ELLEN, 1980. *The European Community and the Third World: The*

Lomé Convention and Its Impact. New York: Praeger.

GRANELL, FRANCISCO, 1991. El acceso de Haití y República Dominicana a las ayudas del Convenio de Lomé. *Revista de Instituciones Europeas* 18:883-95.

JESSOP, DAVID, 1992. *Cuba: New Opportunities For British Business*. London: Caribbean Trade Advisory Group.

RAVENHILL, JOHN, 1985. *Collective Clientelism: The Lomé Conventions and North-South Relations*. New York: Colombia University Press.

RICH KAPLOWITZ, DONNA AND MICHAEL KAPLOWITZ 1992. *New Opportunities For U.S.-Cuban Trade*. Washington DC: Johns Hopkins University.

SCALES, WARWICK, 1993. Clinton, CARICOM, and the Caribbean. *Washington Report On The Hemisphere*. [Provided via electronic mail on May 3, 1994.]

H. MICHAEL ERISMAN
Political Science Department
Indiana State University
Terre Haute IN 47809, U.S.A.

FRANK JAN VAN DIJK

SOCIOLOGICAL MEANS:
COLONIAL REACTIONS TO THE RADICALIZATION
OF RASTAFARI IN JAMAICA, 1956-1959

The second half of the 1950s may be considered a formative stage in the development of the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica. It was a period of rapid radicalization and heightened (millenarian) expectations of an imminent return to Africa, culminating in a series of violent clashes and eventually, in late 1959, an abortive repatriation effort, commonly known as the Henry-fiasco.

Somewhat surprisingly, this episode in the movement's history has been rather ill-researched. In fact, more than thirty years after its publication, the brief chapter on the movement's history in the famous *Report on the Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* by Michael G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford (1960) still remains the principal source on Rastafari in the 1950s.¹ Compiled in a mere two weeks, research included, and once aptly described as a "remarkable piece of crisis writing," the *Report* is – logically given its aim – hardly more than sketchy in its discussion of the history of Rastafari. Moreover, it should, as Ken Post (1978:196) warns, "be treated with some care, as it contains inaccuracies." Nevertheless, later writers have virtually all accepted and reproduced the findings of this report. By ascribing, as Robert A. Hill (1981:31-32) expresses it, "almost semi-canonical status" to the historical chapter in the *Report*, these scholars "have allowed themselves to be lulled ... into chronic historical myopia." This has led to a constant repetition of various errors, misinterpretations, and unfounded speculations, not only in the literature on Rastafari, but also in the comparative literature on religious movements (cf. Glazier 1986:431; Van Dijk 1993:6-7).

With this article I hope to make a small, but long overdue contribution

to our knowledge of the history of Rastafari and provide some new insights into such crucial events as the destruction of Leonard Howell's Pinnacle community in 1954 and Claudius Henry's 1959 repatriation effort.

The second major aim of this paper is to illuminate the ways in which the colonial Jamaican government reacted to Rastafari and the social unrest it created. Several writers discuss the movement as if existing in some sort of timeless vacuum, virtually insusceptible to reactions from its immediate social environment. One of the few to criticize such an approach is Carole D. Yawney (1978:19), who notes that "cooptation and repression need to be examined in more detail. One cannot ascribe certain developments or the lack of them to the intrinsic properties or dynamics of millenarian movements alone."

Those taking a broader view, however, tend to focus on repression only. Horace Campbell (1985:96) writes that during the 1950s the state used "three weapons" against the Rastafarians: "(1) the Dangerous Drugs Law, arresting them for the possession of ganja; (2) the Vagrancy Act; and (3) placing them in the mental hospital at Bellevue in Kingston." An occasional author has hinted at the manipulation of the movement, but always as occurring in the 1970s, when Michael Manley's People's National Party (PNP) chose to pursue "democratic socialism," reggae music began to make international headlines, and both the political parties and the middle classes coopted elements of Rastafari. Colin Prescod (1975: 72), for example, considers the "response of Jamaica's ruling classes to Rastafari ... a revealing example of the *ad hoc* sophistication of neo-colonial politics [emphasis added]" which he – without further explication – concludes to have "at least diverted [the movement's] development." Though still largely neglected, subversion and manipulation, as I argue elsewhere (Van Dijk 1993), have been major factors in the relations between the Rastafarian movement and the wider Jamaican society, not only during the 1970s, but also in the final years of colonial rule. For while repression and medicalization were indeed major strategies during the 1950s – and continued to play a crucial role afterwards – recently released files from the Colonial Office in London reveal that there were at the same time, behind the scenes, persistent efforts to suppress the movement "by sociological means," as Governor Sir Kenneth Blackburne expressed it.

PROLOGUE

While during the 1930s the newly emerged "Ras Tafari" had continuously made headlines, few details are known about the developments in

the 1940s. Leonard Howell and his flock lived in self-imposed exile at their Pinnacle estate, where after a police raid in 1941 (Hoenisch 1988) they were left mostly undisturbed. By the mid-1940s Robert Hinds's once influential King of Kings Mission in Kingston was already falling apart, with its leader, among other things, campaigning for Alexander Bustamante and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Little or nothing was heard of other early preachers like Archibald Dunkley, Nathaniel Hibbert, Ferdinand Ricketts, Vernal Davis, and Altamont Reid.

It appears that the Rastas carefully tried to avoid direct confrontations with the law. During the 1930s the government had harshly repressed the movement. Most leaders had been arrested, tried, and sentenced to long periods behind bars or treatment in Kingston's mental hospital Bellevue (Post 1978; Hill 1981). Repeated clashes with their lower-class neighbors may have also contributed to the apparent lack of public agitation in the 1940s. Moreover, when World War II broke out, the Jamaica Constabulary Force had made it quite clear to the Rastafarian leaders that marches and meetings were no longer tolerated, "as it was considered that these meetings would evoke racial feelings."² Yet it may also have been that the new opportunities provided by the formation of the first political parties and trade unions in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and the new constitution of 1944 regulating increased internal self-government and universal adult suffrage, took away some of the movement's sway over the lower classes. Hinds's campaigning for Bustamante may be a case in point, as perhaps the fact that Altamont Reid became a bodyguard of Norman Manley, while Archibald Dunkley and members of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF) supported the PNP (Post 1981:354). As *Public Opinion* had already noted in July 1941: "It is striking that the Ras Tafari could not exist with trade unionism" (cit. in Post 1978:461). Rastafari, it seemed, had temporarily succumbed to repression and the rise of party politics.

It was not before the summer of 1951 that a tragic incident brought the Rastafarians back on the front pages. It was the first of several events which were to set the tone for the turbulent developments in the final years of the decade. On Monday night June 11, 1951 a young couple, Sidney Garrell and Bernadette Hugh, had gone to swim along the Palisadoes, off Kingston. While in the water, a bearded man, allegedly a Rastafarian, clubbed and stabbed Garrell to death. Hugh was stabbed in the breast, but survived.³ When the murder became public on the following Wednesday, it resulted in an unprecedented public outrage against the Rastafarians.

Within two days the police arrested a 42-year-old "Rasta" from a squatter area, who was positively identified as the assailant. But that did far from satisfy the public. The popular wrath was such that in one of its

editorials *The Daily Gleaner* thought it necessary to warn, although weakly, against jungle justice:

Public resentment and hostility to bearded men of the city and to their anti-social cult has become violently focused in the last two days ... Indeed we are well on the way to a very necessary outbreak of public clamour for an end to be put to these queer sub-social and inimical groups ... But the *Gleaner* bids the community to avoid even the first example of an outbreak of mob feelings in the matter.⁴

The editors added that "in general these Ras Tafariotes who ... have created dark kraals of wickedness in the city are given too loose a reign by the police." Although the newspaper maintained that one could not make all "beards" responsible for the savage actions of one or two, it in fact propagated the opposite of what its editorial called for.

On the very same page, columnist Vere Johns called to "stamp out" the Rastafarians once and for all. The author made a distinction between "ordinary bearded criminals" and an especially dangerous sort:

The worst evil of all are the members of that bearded cult who style themselves the Ras Tafariotes and claim some kinship with Abyssinia. In reality this group has no religious significance, do [sic] not even know where Ethiopia is, and merely adopted the untidy habit of letting hair and beards grow through laziness and filthiness and a desire to appear more terrifying ... I think that if a start is made by cleaning out these so called Ras Tafariotes it will have a salutary effect on the remainder of the wrong doers.⁵

A few days later Johns elaborated on his ideas how to "clean out" the Rastafarians. "On behalf of all the respectable citizens of the city," he demanded that all squatters be expelled from the areas they occupied, in those days the Wareika Hills, the Palisadoes, and the Foreshore Road area, also known as the Dung Hill. The columnist recommended "the setting up of prison camps on fertile Crown lands far removed from any town or city." Here, the squatters should be treated with firm discipline. Those who "persisted in disobeying rules and indulging in acts of violence ... should be tamed at the point of the tamarind switch or the Cat."⁶

A somewhat milder reaction came from a certain H.S. Burns, who claimed to know "these bearded men."

The average one is either ganja smoker, idler or criminal. Some are true Christians, with a definite doctrinal belief. They profess the Coptic Faith ... Most of the bearded men only pretend to a belief in the Coptic Faith because it suits their idle temperament and offers some security from the eyes of the law. But there are genuine believers and they are Christians, not criminals.⁷

The murder of Sidney Garrell by a bearded "Rasta" acted as a catalyst for latent, but apparently widespread resentment against not only Rastafarians, but all "sufferers." And anger was not restricted to the elite. Dock workers at Kingston's Waterfront went on strike because they refused to work with bearded men from squatter areas any longer. They told them "to go away, shave their beards and mend their ways."⁸

The government, in the meantime, took swift action. Within a few days after the murder of Garrell, Security Minister L.C. Bloomfield announced that an estimated 1,500 "Rasta squatters," most of them living on government land in the Wareika Hills, would be evicted. The squatters claimed that they had been there for some three years, had erected homes, cultivated crops, and had no place to go, but all to no avail. In an effort to calm the public, Bloomfield announced that the police force would be strengthened. He also launched a campaign against ganja, the alleged root of all evil.⁹ In the following weeks the papers reported numerous arrests.

The two years following the murder of Sidney Garrell seem to have passed without serious confrontations. Rasta leaders, according to George E. Simpson (1955a:145), "maintained well-disciplined control over members during street meetings, and police regulations on marching and on the duration of meetings were observed." Yet even at the time of Simpson's research (1953) there must have been the first signs of growing militancy. The waning control of the early preachers created room for the emergence of a younger and more radical generation, which increasingly began to demonstrate its open defiance of the law. During the 1930s Howell and Hinds had bowed and thanked the judge after being sentenced to two years in prison, while many of their followers had remained seemingly dispassionate in accepting their own sentences (Van Dijk 1993:84-98). By the early 1950s, however, such indifference was no longer a matter of course. Young Rastas defended themselves fiercely in court and threatened the judge with "fire and brimstone."

Already in the late 1940s some of those radical Rastafarians from West Kingston, described by Barry Chevannes (1989:242ff.) as "activists," had organized themselves in a group known as Youth Black Faith. They were dissatisfied with the hierarchical structure of older Rastafarian organizations, denouncing the established leadership for its adherence to Revival

traditions and observance of colonial rules. In their bid to defy both the traditional leaders and society, groups like Youth Black Faith propagated the wearing beards and locks, which at the time was still a controversial issue, but increasingly came to symbolize radicalism (Simpson 1955a:134; Chevannes 1989:228ff.; Homiak forthcoming).

On April 14, 1954 Youth Black Faith took to the streets in a march that made headlines in the *Gleaner*.¹⁰ A "crowd" of twenty-two men and eight women, armed with banners, bibles, and drums, and shouting slogans like "We want to go to Ethiopia" and "Now, now, freedom," marched along North Street. Youth Black Faith had not bothered to secure permission for its march and thus the police arrested the Rastafarians under *The Public Processions Law*. At the station and even in their cells they continued to shout. What fascinated the *Gleaner* reporter most, however, was that there was a policeman (a mechanic) among the demonstrators. He had a day off, but was nevertheless immediately suspended from duty, without pay. Brought before court two days later, he told the judge: "My name is Ras Jackson, C. Jackson was my name when I was in Babylon, but now my name is changed." All men, including one brought up in a stiff-jacket, sported beards and "heavy tufts of hair." They repeatedly refused to give their names and made themselves known as "Freedom," "King David" or "Rastafari." Eventually, all were charged with contempt of court and put behind bars. But the prison authorities apparently considered the loud-mouthed Rastas such a terrible nuisance that after two weeks all were discharged. Ras Jackson was examined for lunacy, but found to be sane.¹¹

THE BIGGEST RAID

The members of Youth Black Faith had barely been released, when a combined police and military force raided Howell's Pinnacle community in St. Catherine. The event is, to briefly side-step the issue, a fine example of the "historical myopia" among students of Rastafari. While great significance has been ascribed to the break-up of this "seed-bed of Rastafarianism," as Joseph Owens (1976:24) describes it, no one has so far taken the trouble to do more than cite Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960). The authors, however, merely mention the event, without providing details, and appear to have made several questionable assumptions about both the community and its destruction, which have subsequently reappeared in other publications (e.g., Campbell 1985:94-96; Barrett 1988: 86-89).

When Howell had retreated to Pinnacle in mid-1940, hundreds of faithful from all over the island had followed him.¹² Although few details are

known, the community seems to have become a focal point of Rastafarian activities in Jamaica, attracting large numbers of visitors for celebrations and meetings. Yet, life at Pinnacle was hard. Howell, now known as Gangunguru Maragh or simply The Gong and claiming divinity, ruled with a rod of iron. His followers toiled in the fields, but had difficulties feeding themselves. Neighboring peasants complained about thefts and harassment by the Pinnacle residents, which in July 1941 provided the police with a motive for a raid. The Gong and twenty-eight of his disciples were charged with assault and imprisoned (Hoenisch 1988).

In the second half of 1943 Howell returned to Pinnacle. Intruders had plundered and ruined the estate and the fields. It was then, according to Derek Bishton's (1986:119) informants, that Howell decided to go into the ganja business, which he was able to continue without interference for more than a decade. Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960:9) maintain that Howell's "second administration was fairly similar to the first" and describe the community during the early 1950s as "a state within a state." It has thus remained somewhat of a mystery why Pinnacle was left largely undisturbed for so long. The authors, surprisingly, argue that being a state within a state, it is "understandable" that Pinnacle could thrive "without the people or the Government of Jamaica being aware of it." But in view of the continuous persecution Howell had experienced in the 1930s and the authorities' persistent efforts to break up the estate in the early 1940s, lack of awareness seems a highly unlikely reason for the untroubled continuation of Pinnacle. It has also been suggested that Howell had somehow managed to ensure the protection of high-ranking government officials.¹³ While not necessarily excluding the possibility of "confederates among the colonial establishment," it seems more likely that Pinnacle was left undisturbed simply because it was no longer of great significance after 1943, at least not as a Rastafarian center.

There is reason to believe that Howell had already in the early 1940s lost most of his following and that the numerical strength of the Howellites during the second phase has been overestimated. At the time of the first raid there were reported to be "hundreds" of residents at Pinnacle.¹⁴ Yet, while all males were rounded up, only seventy arrests were made. Post (1981:353-54) maintains that when Howell returned to Pinnacle in 1943, his flock had been reduced to about a hundred. Some time during 1945, according to the Constabulary Force, Howell was evicted from Pinnacle for "failing in his obligation to Mr. [Albert] Chang," from whom he had purchased the estate five years earlier. Later he succeeded in settling his debt and once again returned, "with a limited number of his followers." From then on, The Gong and his following led "a secluded life."¹⁵

When in early 1954 the government had become seriously concerned about Pinnacle, it was not because of any Rastafarian agitation, but because there was evidence of large-scale ganja cultivation. Early on the morning of Saturday May 22, 1954 a large joint police and military force raided the estate and arrested 140 persons, about half of them women and children. During what was described as "the biggest raid in local police history" eight tons of ganja were seized. In the following days the police repeatedly searched Pinnacle and destroyed thousands of ganja trees.¹⁶

Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960:9; cf. Barrett 1988:87-88) state that Howell was arrested during the raid, tried but acquitted on appeal, and afterwards "remained in Kingston, discredited by the brethren because he had made claims to divinity." From the incomplete material available, it appears, however, that Howell did no longer reside at Pinnacle at the time. Neither are there any reports about his arrest during the raid. During the early 1950s he had acquired property in Kingston and St. Thomas, and by 1954 resided on East Queens Street in downtown Kingston. There, on April 6, he was indeed arrested, but his arrest does not appear to have been directly related to Pinnacle or ganja. As the *Gleaner* reported, Howell, "formerly of Pinnacle," was charged with the "unlawful possession of thermometers, a stethoscope and other medical instruments." In court, Howell's lawyer argued that his client had bought the instruments because he was "very concerned about medical supplies in connection with his Back-to-Africa movement." As customary, the judge ordered Howell to be placed under medical observation. A few days later he had to be released, "following a medical report that he was of sound mind."¹⁷

On May 25 those arrested during the raid were taken to the Spanish Town court, where they faced charges of either possession or cultivation of ganja. While outside an estimated four-hundred curious onlookers had gathered, the accused pleaded not guilty, but were refused bail. When trial began on June 12 resident magistrate H.P. Allen swiftly handed down his verdicts. One after another the defendants received sentences ranging from six months to two years in prison, as usual with hard labor. About a dozen children and some twenty women, charged jointly with their parents and men, were acquitted. Only in a few cases did the judge show compassion. Anne Jarrett, over 70 years of age and in poor health, received six instead of twelve months on hard labor. "In prison," the resident magistrate said, "she would get the attention she obviously needed."

Two of Howell's sons, Martinal and Silbert, were acquitted after they had produced receipts to prove that goods they had allegedly stolen were rightfully theirs. They assured the court that they were "in no way associated" with the community, despite the fact that they occupied the

house in which their father, described as the "one time self-styled king of Pinnacle," used to live before he moved to Kingston. Neither during or after the trial further mention was made of Leonard Percival Howell.¹⁸

Following the raid, according to Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960:9), Howell was discredited because of his claims to divinity. His flock scattered, mainly to Kingston, and is believed to have caused both the growth of the movement in the capital and the rise of the radical Dreadlocks during the second half of the 1950s, a view shared by several other writers. Leonard E. Barrett (1988:87-89), for example, considers "the period between the destruction of Pinnacle and 1959 ... one of regrouping" and attributes the movement's expansion in Kingston to the sidewalk preaching undertaken by Howell's lieutenants. The author also claims it was at Pinnacle that several "rites and rituals with which [the Rastafarians] are now identified" originated (cf. Owens 1976:19, 24; Williams 1981:31-32; Campbell 1987:95; Lewis 1993:7-8).

Yet, in light of the little that is still known about the Pinnacle experiment, such conclusions are at best premature. First of all, if Howell's claim to be the Black Christ contributed to his fall, this must have occurred after the first rather than the second raid. As Hill (1981:49) already pointed out, it was shortly after his retreat from Kingston that Howell began to claim divinity. Second, given their relatively small numbers, it is improbable that the dispersal of the Howellites had such a major impact on an already well-established movement in Kingston, or that their scattering caused a major increase in the visibility of Rastafari, if only because some of Howell's most dedicated followers are known to have stayed in St. Catherine (Nagashima 1984:39-40; Bilby & Leib 1986:225-26). Finally, there is little evidence that at Pinnacle the foundations were laid for many of the Rastafarian "rites and rituals," including the use of ganja and the wearing of locks. There are no reports that locks were ever worn at Pinnacle. In fact, Howell was known to have "a personal dislike" for dreadlocks.¹⁹ Notwithstanding its importance in the early days or its great symbolic significance, Pinnacle was perhaps far more marginal to Rastafari than generally assumed.²⁰

THE EMPEROR'S GIFT

In September 1955, not long after Youth Black Faith had marched through Kingston with placards like "We want to go to Ethiopia," the Rastafarians were informed that Emperor Haile Selassie had made "five hundred acres of very fertile and rich land" available to "the Black People of the West,

who aided Ethiopia during her period of distress [the war with Italy, 1935-41]."²¹ It was Maymie Richardson, an officer of the New York City-based Ethiopian World Federation Inc., who brought the message to Jamaica.

The EWF had been established in 1937 to coordinate the various efforts in the United States to relieve the plight of the besieged Ethiopians. After the war, it continued as a cultural organization. The Federation had almost immediately attracted the attention of several Africa-oriented groups in Jamaica; already in August 1938 the first branch, Local 17, was established on the island. Internal rivalries soon caused Local 17 to fall apart, but in 1941 William Powell, together with early Rastafarian leaders Vernal Davis and Ferdinand Ricketts, founded a new branch, Local 31 – a moderate, low-profile organization barring bearded and thus militant Rastafarians.

The message about the land grant struck like a bomb. Although the EWF headquarters warned that there were no financial means to arrange for the settlement of its members, the news that Haile Selassie had put aside land in Ethiopia reconfirmed the idea that black people from the West were indeed most welcome in Africa. It not only provided secular back-to-Africa enthusiasts with a most powerful argument for migration, but it also caused a hype in the Rastafarians' expectations of an imminent return to the Promised Land. The rumor that all those who wanted to could shortly board east-bound ships spread like a blazing fire. Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960:11-13) recall that an employment survey in St. Elizabeth was "almost to a man" regarded as a census to enlist prospective migrants to Africa. For most Rastafarians it must have seemed as if their dream was finally about to come true. Since it was the EWF which was assigned to administer the land grant, many Rastafarians in Jamaica immediately sought affiliation with the organization, hoping to get a say in its affairs or – better still – to be among the first to leave for Ethiopia. Numerous new Locals of the EWF were founded and in late 1955 and 1956 several instances of Rastas gathering in the Kingston harbor were reported.

Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960:11), Simpson (1962:163) and, more recently, Chevannes (1990a:136; 1990b:69) link the surging millenarian expectations of imminent repatriation among the Rastafarians to large-scale migration to Britain during the second half of the 1950s. It is, however, a partial explanation at best, if only because for the past hundred years (with the exception of a brief period between 1930 and 1945) Jamaicans have continuously and in large numbers migrated to various destinations. If rising expectations of repatriation to Africa and millenarian outbursts among the Rastafarians were indeed linked to the volume of migration to Western (Babylonian) destinations, one would expect to have witnessed such outbursts during other periods as well or, the other way

around, an absence of millenarian fervor during periods when migration stagnated. No such correlation exists, however.²² In fact, the first outburst of millenarian fervor among the Rastafarians, following Leonard Howell's prediction that ships would arrive on August 1, 1934, took place at a time when migration had come to a virtual standstill. The rising expectations of an impending return to Africa and the accompanying process of radicalization among some sections of the movement should therefore, I think, be placed in a broader perspective of socio-political developments, both in and, as will be discussed further on, outside Jamaica.

During the 1950s Jamaica was moving closer to independence, leading to full internal self-government in 1959. Economically, Jamaica experienced a period of unprecedented growth, particularly in the sugar industry, bauxite mining, and tourism. As a result, the average growth of the Gross Domestic Product during the 1950s reached a staggering 7.5 percent, one of the highest in the region (*Report on Jamaica 1949-1961*; Davies & Witter 1989:78).

The benefits of all this were, however, restricted to the established ruling classes and a "vibrant, new and increasingly wealthy and influential entrepreneurial class" of mostly mulatto Jamaicans (Stone 1989:27). The black lower classes continued to endure extreme poverty and hardship. As Governor Sir Hugh Foot reported to London in 1955: "The slums of Kingston and Montego Bay are probably the worst in the world and conditions in many of the country districts, particularly in the sugar areas, are little better."²³ The population was growing rapidly and in spite of large-scale emigration, un- and underemployment was rampant. In 1955 62 percent of all males and 36 percent of all females in the rural areas were looking for work, although officially the average unemployment rate stood at 10 to 12 percent. The demographic pressure on the scarce agricultural resources caused an accelerating drift to the urban centers, notably Kingston. But unemployment was as widespread in the capital, while living conditions for the newly arrived migrants were perhaps even worse. During a survey in 1950 some 3,700 squatters were counted in Kingston (*Report on Jamaica 1949*:138). By the end of the decade there were an estimated 20,000 squatters in the metropolitan area. Those who did not live on captured land, were not always better off. Almost 70 percent of all households in Kingston lived in one-room accommodations, lacking even the most basic facilities (Clarke 1975:77-87).

The growing gap between rich and poor, the uneven distribution of the benefits of progress, the frustration of unfulfilled expectations, and the increased pressure on the ghetto dwellers and landless peasantry no doubt created a fertile soil for the further radicalization of Rastafari.

It was in this situation that the movement received the news that the Messiah was preparing for the return of his lost sons and daughters.

AN ODD REQUEST

In spite of events like the Palisadoes murder, the marches of Youth Black Faith, the destruction of Pinnacle, and the fervent activity following the message about the Ethiopian land grant, the colonial government was not profoundly worried about the Rastafarians. Press commentaries suggest that the Rastas were viewed as an integral part of the urban "lumpen" and landless peasantry, prone to occasional outbursts of violence, drug addiction, and various other forms of deviant behavior, which the elite associated with the "uncultured, illiterate, and backward" masses. Rastas were not considered a threat and thus required no special attention.

The custos of St. James, Francis M. Kerr-Jarrett, however, thought otherwise. In July 1956 he called a meeting with several church leaders from Montego Bay to discuss the recent flowering of the Rastafarian movement in the tourist capital. There had been several incidents in the area involving the main Rasta formation, known as the Orange Street Gulley group. As elsewhere on the island, its (bearded) members were, on suspicion of various forms of crime and vice, harassed and repeatedly arrested.²⁴

Following his meeting with the local church leaders, Kerr-Jarrett wrote a letter to Governor Foot in which he suggested that Her Majesty's representative contact the Colonial Office in London to obtain "a refutation of their [Rastafarians'] claim that Haile Selassie is God," which the custos considered "a perfectly simple matter." Foot, although skeptical and not convinced of the necessity to bother London with "such an odd and minor matter," decided to approach the British ambassador in Addis Ababa, Douglas Laird Busk, directly. In August 1956 he wrote:

I do not imagine that it is as simple as the Custos suggests to get such a declaration from the Emperor, and indeed even if he did make a declaration I doubt if we could convince our Rastafaris that the statement came from the Emperor ... I apologise for worrying you ... I do so mainly because I thought that you might be interested to hear the strange story.²⁵

Laird Busk failed to reply, but that did not deter Kerr-Jarrett. Within a few weeks he again pressured Foot to contact the Colonial Office, this time in order to halt the flow of publications on Ethiopia reaching Jamaica. Prime among these was *New Times and Ethiopia News* edited by Sylvia Pankhurst, a prominent British suffragette who, upon the outbreak of the

Italo-Ethiopian war, had redirected her energies towards assisting the Ethiopians, and promoting their cause and culture. But Foot was again hesitant to turn to the Secretary directly and instead wrote a letter to one of his acquaintances in the Colonial Office, M. Phillips. Explaining who the Rastafarians were, provided some difficulties:

No one seems to know how it was first formed in Jamaica and indeed it is very difficult to describe its purposes and beliefs. I think that it arises from some kind of distorted negro nationalism and it is also tied up with unpleasant practices, such as the smoking of ganja (our home-grown drug), and a number of the followers of the sect live on the proceeds of robbery and other crime. They say that their aim is to return to Africa and they declare their allegiance to the Emperor of Ethiopia. I cannot imagine why they should do so except perhaps that the Emperor is the only independent Head of a State in Africa of whom they know – and our Rastafaris have little knowledge about Africa.²⁶

Despite the fact that the governor still thought it to be an “odd request,” he agreed with Kerr-Jarrett that the Rastafarians were “an undesirable sect and that we should do what we can to discourage its activities.” He therefore, with the usual apologies, asked Phillips whether he considered it “worthwhile having a word with [Pankhurst] or someone else connected with the *New Times and Ethiopia News* to suggest that no good can come from sending such publications to Jamaica?” Phillips replied that Pankhurst was no stranger to the Colonial Office, but advised against contacting her since that would have “just the opposite of the desired effect and lead to a lot of unfavourable publicity.” The Colonial Office, however, wanted to know more about the Rastafarian movement, particularly in relation to ganja use, which “leads later to the use of heroin.” Phillips thus requested Foot to provide intelligence reports on the movement.²⁷

The Colonial Office’s request turned the scales. Governor Foot immediately ordered the Constabulary Force “to see that a special eye is kept on Rastafari activities.” He expected to submit the first reports within a few months, but already informed London that “the Rastafaris have long been a source of some concern and anxiety,” the main reason being that

those who like to make use of violence have previously attempted to engage the Rastafaris for their own evil purposes. I remember hearing, for instance, that the Rastafaris were brought into violent strikes which took place at the end of 1950 and early in 1951.²⁸

Yet Foot, a liberal mind, also had some compassion for the Rastafarians and warned the Colonial Office that it "would be a mistake to assume that all Rastafaris are criminals."

[M]any of them are good and regular workers who respond to fair treatment and sympathetic handling. On the other hand there are pockets of Rastafaris in the slums of Kingston and Montego Bay which seem to be centres of various forms of crime and vice. Certainly the Rastafaris provide an interesting example of reaction against the normal conventions and they also illustrate a commendable desire to escape from squalor and poverty by evolving some new pattern of communal life. There may well be some good in the Rastafari cult as well as the obvious bad.²⁹

In January 1957 the Special Branch of the Jamaica Constabulary Force presented its first intelligence report. It gave a summary of the movement's history and estimated the total number of Rastafarians to be somewhere near 1,900, most of them living in Kingston, St. Catherine, and St. James. The report also noted that "contrary to popular belief many Rastafarites are employed in some accepted form of remunerative activity." The Trade Union Congress, related to the PNP, had occasionally used Rastas as "professional pickets and dues collectors."

Generally speaking, any unrest or disturbance will attract the Rastafarite who will at once join in and demonstrate against anything and everything regardless of politics in which they have never displayed any constant interest. The Rastafarite is probably an opportunist.³⁰

The Special Branch also had reason to believe that leftist groups tried to incite the movement with anti-colonial ideas.

During the past year, it has been known that the Communist inspired People's Educational Organisation (PEO) bookshop has imported books for circulation amongst the Rastafarites and overtures to the Rastafarites have been made by the communist People's Freedom Movement (PFM), both in Kingston and St. James. It is difficult to assess the extent, if any, of PFM success, but it is known that Richard Hart, a PFM leader, defended a Rastafarite leader in Montego Bay and won the case, no doubt gathering considerable prestige.³¹

Since the Colonial Office saw no reason to act on the intelligence reports and 1957 passed without further incidents, the correspondence about the movement ceased. In November Foot left Jamaica to become governor of crisis-ridden Cyprus. He was succeeded by Sir Kenneth Blackburne.

THE LAST CONVENTION

By early 1958 more than two years had gone by since the message about the Ethiopian land grant. But although little had happened to bring the return to the Promised Land any nearer, the expectations of an impending return had by no means subsided. International developments no doubt contributed to keep the hopes and desires for repatriation alive.

From a Rastafarian perspective, the 1950s must have been a decade in which prophecy was rapidly nearing fulfillment. With the rise of the Soviet Union, Babylon's sheer invincible power was finally falling apart. Caught in an absurd nuclear arms race, the superpowers were keeping each other in a lethal stranglehold. The Lord was gathering the nations in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and nothing could prevent the Cold War from turning into a Third and Final World War. As one Rastafarian leader confidently quoted Revelation 11:14: "The second woe is passed, and behold the third one cometh quickly."

At the same time, oppressed black peoples in Africa were shaking off the colonial shackles. In the Maghreb armed rebellion forced France, already humiliated at Dien Bien-Phu, to concede independence to Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, and to fight a cruel but futile war in Algeria. Meanwhile, guerrillas kept the French busy in the southern part of Cameroon. Togo, Ivory Coast, and Madagascar achieved internal self-government, and Guinea independence. Violent rioting in Leopoldville (Kinshasa) forced Belgium to prepare for similar steps in Congo, while in Guinea-Bissau a prolonged guerrilla against the Portuguese broke out.

Similar developments could be witnessed in the British territories, where Kenya was the scene of a bitter war between the colonial settlers and the Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau). The staunch resistance of the Mau Mau warriors, some of whose leaders wore locks, strongly appealed to the imagination of the Rastafarians. Their example may, as Campbell (1985:95) argues, very well have inspired the dreadlocks style among the radicals. Sudan secured full independence in 1956. The Gold Coast colony of Ghana achieved the same status one year later and under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah became *the* symbol of independent African modernization, providing Rastafarians and other Black Nationalists in Jamaica with renewed hope for a speedy fulfillment of the Garveyite dream. As Sam B. Spence, one of the leading EWF spokesmen, observed: "with the birth of 'Ghana' and other independent African nations, the movement is growing."³² Many no doubt reasoned that once Africa was liberated from white, colonial oppression, the liberation and repatriation of the Africans in the West would be only a matter of time.

In South Africa black and colored people proved that not even the most draconian laws could keep them down forever. Although the struggle against apartheid at times seemed hopelessly futile, countless acts of non-violent resistance represented an equally large number of at least moral victories. Despite excessively cruel repression and despite the arrest of virtually all anti-apartheid leaders, the struggle continued unabated, and by the end of the decade, with the foundation of the Pan African Congress, increasingly came to include armed resistance.

In the United States the 1954 *Brown v. The Board of Education* ruling, the Montgomery bus boycott, and the Federal-enforced admission of black pupils to the all-white high school at Little Rock, Arkansas, proved that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were increasingly successful in their bid to enforce equal rights and justice. But here also legal action and non-violent protest required more resilience and patience than many were able to muster. During the second half of the 1950s voices advocating a more militant course became louder and louder.

Everywhere oppressed black people rebelled against white domination. In 1958 militancy even surfaced in the very heart of the British Empire, when Notting Hill experienced its first race riot. Rastafarians and other Afro-oriented groups in Jamaica closely followed these developments and rallied to express their support for the black struggle. The Afro-Caribbean League, for example, organized mass meetings to commemorate Ghana's independence and to discuss the Notting Hill riots.³³

A final development of great relevance to the Rastafarians was the revolution in nearby Cuba. From a Rastafarian perspective, it was the triumph of the original Amerindian inhabitants of the island, another step closer towards repatriation in its broader sense. As Cuba was being recaptured by the Amerindians, so Jamaica would soon be returned into the hands of its original inhabitants, and the Africans would return to Africa, the Europeans to Europe, and so on.

The Rastafarians' expectations about fulfillment of prophecy in 1958 or 1959 were no doubt also based on biblical chronology. After all, the first large-scale deportation of Israelites into Babylonian captivity took place in 597 B.C. (2 Kings 24:14-16). On October 12, 539 B.C., fifty-eight years later, Babylon fell at the hands of the Persian King Cyrus, "the Lord's Anointed," who issued a decree allowing the captives to return to Judah (Ezra 1:1-4). One year later the first group returned (Ezra 2:64).

In March 1958 hopes for deliverance once again manifested themselves, when Prince Emmanuel Charles Edwards organized "the first and last" universal Rastafarian convention. This 21-day "grounation" was an-

nounced in widely distributed pamphlets and, according to informants of Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960:15), even attracted the attention of the newly arrived governor, who was said to have paid a visit to Prince's Coptic Theocratic Temple in the slums of West Kingston shortly before the grounation began. Hundreds of Rastas from all over the island came to attend the convention. Some, convinced of their immediate repatriation at the end of the gathering, had reportedly sold out their possessions.³⁴

The Jamaica Times claimed that the Rastas had "summoned" Governor Blackburne and Chief Minister Norman Manley to meet them in order to discuss their immediate departure to Africa. "They termed the West Indies 'a pit of hell' and they want to return to 'David's Royal Kingdom'," the newspaper reported.³⁵ Initially, the authorities paid little attention, but as soon as the press began to report on the unusual assembly and rumors about ritual sacrifices surfaced, police harassment increased.³⁶

Towards the end of the convention, Prince sent a telegram to Queen Elizabeth II. Referring to biblical chronology, he bluntly stated: "We the descendants of Ancient Ethiopia call upon you for our repatriation for this is the 58th year. Emergency answer." At Buckingham Palace, an annoyed secretary dispatched a copy to the Colonial Office and in the accompanying memo equally brusquely demanded information: "Who are these?!" The Colonial Office briefly explained what it knew about the Rastafarians and Her Majesty's Private Secretary requested to inform Prince about the proper procedures with regard to addressing the Queen.³⁷

The Rastas did not wait on their "emergency answer." On Saturday March 22, at the end of the convention, some three-hundred Rastafarians tried to "capture" Kingston in the name of Haile Selassie. Shouting slogans and carrying banners of red, gold, green, and black, they assembled in Victoria Park. The invasion, however, was unsuccessful. The police drove them out and arrested several Rastas for possession of ganja (cf. Barrett 1988:92-95; Smith, Augier & Nettleford 1960:14-15).

The grounation, according to Smith, Augier, and Nettleford (1960:15), was "the decisive point in the deterioration of relations between the Government and the public on the one hand, and the Ras Tafari movement on the other." In the following months numerous Rastafarians were arrested, beaten, and abused. Dreadlocked Rastafarians in particular suffered from police harassment and the wrath of the public. According to Homiak (forthcoming) "they could not ride upon public transportation and were frequently subject to having their locks forcibly trimmed by the police." On May 7, 1959 the security forces also retaliated against Prince Emmanuel, burning down his camp in West Kingston (Van de Laar 1989: 28-29). Hardly a month later, an incident occurred which Barrett (1988:93)

wrongly interprets as a Rastafarian attempt to "capture" Spanish Town's Old Kings House, once the residence of the governors of Jamaica. In fact, a group of nine Rastafarian families, squatters on lands belonging to an estate near Spanish Town, had occupied the steps and demanded a meeting with Mayor Leslie. Their shacks had been demolished at the orders of the Parish Council and they wanted to file a complaint.³⁸ The mayor promised to see what he could do, but by the end of the month the police chased them away. With no place else to go, the Rastas moved to a cemetery on the outskirts of Spanish Town.³⁹

While some Rastafarians became increasingly bold, the police was bent on preventing even the slightest chance of unrest. In October security forces twice raided a Rastafarian community in Geneva, Westmoreland. The (unknown) leader of the group was sent to prison, which reportedly led to a decline in the activities of Rastafarians in the north-western part of the island.⁴⁰ Such local successes, however, were immediately frustrated by a growing number of incidents elsewhere. In West Kingston a group of Rastafarians clashed with the Fire Brigade, while in St. Catherine an incident occurred during which the police shot and killed a 32-year-old Rasta by the name of Herman McKenzie.⁴¹ Commenting on the Kingston incident in his *Gleaner* column "Today," G.St.C. Scotter compared the problem of the "small but irritating minority [of] 'bearded men'" with the problems the British at the time experienced with Cypriot "terrorists." Somewhat disappointed he wrote: "but if we were to consider deporting them I suppose the only place we could send them to would be Abyssinia, who probably would not want them anyway."⁴²

THE LEPERS' GOVERNMENT

The chain of incidents during 1958 renewed the Constabulary Force's interest in the Rastafarians. The Intelligence Unit decided to carry out "a general survey" of the movement. As it advised the governor:

The tendency on the part of Rastafarians to join in any trouble or demonstration, coupled with their known addiction to ganja, makes it necessary for a close watch to be continuously kept on the movement and the possibility that they may incite unemployed or malcontents to violence cannot be overlooked.⁴³

One of those closely scrutinized was Claudius V. Henry, who had lived in the United States for several years and after a vision had come to regard

himself as the Repairer of the Breach referred to in Isaiah 58:12.⁴⁴ In April 1958, four months after his return to Jamaica, he was introduced to Edna Fisher, the leader of a small group of EWF followers, who regularly met at her home at 78 Rosalie Avenue, West Kingston. Henry presented himself as the biblical prophet Cyrus, the liberator of the captive Israelites, the Lord's Anointed. He also claimed to have visited Ethiopia in January 1958.⁴⁵ Henry soon assumed control over the group at Rosalie Avenue and from there rapidly gained a wider following. Within a few months his regular Wednesday and Saturday night sermons drew large crowds, including many Rastafarians. The Repairer of the Breach also traveled through the island to organize public meetings.⁴⁶ By the end of the year, unobstructed but closely watched by the police, Henry formally opened the African Reform Church of God in Christ and declared himself the leader of "The Seventh Emmanuel's Brethren, administrating The Lepers' Government, God's Righteous Government of Everlasting Peace."

In March 1959, Claudius Henry began to distribute some 5,000 blue membership cards, in which he announced a conference in April and a repatriation deadline in October. Part of the card read:

Pioneering Israel's scattered children of African Origin back home to Africa, this year 1959, deadline date Oct. 5th, This New Government is God's Righteous Kingdom of Everlasting Peace on Earth, "Creations Second Birth". Holder of this certificate is requested to visit the Headquarters at 78 Rosalie Ave., off Waltham Park Road, April 1st, 11. a.m. through April 7th. Please preserve this Certificate for removal. No passport will be necessary for those returning to Africa. Bring this Certificate with you on April 1st, for "Official Stamping."⁴⁷

While many in his rapidly growing ranks may have believed that he could work miracles (Chevannes 1976:268-70), Henry counted on a less miraculous fulfillment of his own prophecy. In March 1959 he wrote a long letter to the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Referring to numerous biblical passages, he warned "the honourable Gentlemen" that Britain faced "a dreadful woe of destruction." The only way out was to submit to the chosen Israelites, "God's Battle Ax" i.e. Henry's Lepers' Government.

If this offer of Everlasting peace, by our Government, be rejected by the British Government because of foolish pride, and colour prejudice, then the leaders of Britain will be committing to themselves "Suicide" and "murder" not only to the British people alone, but also to the whole world, which at this time are depending upon Britain for protection from a Russian invasion, which will drag the world and many great nations into captivity.⁴⁸

Considering Russia to be God's "weapon of war," Henry maintained that the key to Britain's survival lay in providing transportation for the immediate return of "Africa's scattered children." He thus demanded an interview with Her Majesty's government to arrange for repatriation, "at earliest convenience," but before "deadline date" October 5.

The convention at Rosalie Avenue during the first week of April 1959 attracted several hundred persons each day, including a few undercover police officers. The church building was "equipped with a microphone, and decorated with pictures of Haile Selassie. Others depict[ed] white Americans lynching Negroes." Henry presented himself as "another Moses, chosen by God to deliver them out of bondage and lead them back to Africa." He insisted that he was widely supported, not only by ordinary Jamaicans, but also by over fifty policemen and a large number of soldiers. Contrary to Chevannes's (1976:275) statement that "no one [in Henry's following] knew how repatriation was going to take place," Henry informed his flock about his efforts to force the British to provide ships. According to the Constabulary, the reverend also threatened that

if nothing were done [about repatriation] the audience should prepare for bloodshed, as they would take charge of the Government ... We have no machine guns, no planes, but we have bricks, stones, gasoline and matches. With these weapons Jamaica will be left desolate as a graveyard.⁴⁹

To reinforce his demand for transportation, Henry announced a march through Kingston, scheduled for August 1, Emancipation Day.

Not only the police became worried by Henry's success and threats; several Rastafarian leaders also thought that the clean-shaven, self-declared prophet was way off limits. On April 5, 1959 Archibald Dunkley called a meeting in West Kingston during which Henry's activities were denounced as "a racket." According to Dunkley, it was impossible for anyone to leave the island without a passport. Henry's threats of violence would only foil the movement's repatriation efforts. He "advised ticket-holders to keep calm" and thought that "if Henry's plans did not materialize he should not be allowed to remain in the island." The crowd agreed.⁵⁰

THE INTELLIGENT FORCES

While the Repairer of the Breach continued the preparations for his march and "deadline date" with meetings in Clarendon, Manchester, and St. Mary, the residents of downtown Kingston were once again surprised by a violent incident. On May 7, 1959 a dispute between a Rastafarian gatekeeper, Sidney Maitland, and a market policeman at the Coronation Market, turned into a large-scale battle. Police reinforcements were greeted with a barrage of stones, bottles, fruits, and vegetables, and two police vans were set on fire before tear gas dispersed the crowd. The police chased the protesters, who fled to the slum areas of Ackee Walk and Back-O-Wall, where numerous homes went up in flames and eighty-seven persons, most of them Rastafarians, were arrested.⁵¹

The excessive use of force prompted two representatives of the United Rases Organization, a Rastafarian group from Jones Town, to request an inquiry. The *Gleaner* described them as admirers of Fidel Castro, wearing their hair "Cuban revolutionary style." The two delegates, who claimed to represent 65,000 Rastafarians, also demanded repatriation to Ethiopia.⁵² Both calls went unheeded, but when the more than eighty arrested and handcuffed protesters were marched to the Sutton Street courtroom on May 11, they were cheered by a large crowd of Rastafarians predicting "fire, thunder and earthquake!" for the police.⁵³

The "disgraceful" riot at the Coronation Market and the almost island-wide excitement caused by Claudius Henry for the first time aroused serious interest for the Rastafarians' cause in the press. Several columnists called on the government to investigate into the problem of "the unkempt cult of the Lions of Judah." Various options were advanced, ranging from "a one-way group ticket on a slow boat to Africa" to giving the courts "the power to award a thorough hot bath and a haircut." All commentators, however, agreed that it was high time to take the matter "more seriously than we have done so far."⁵⁴ The editors of the *Gleaner* also felt that the fervor caused by this "so-called Back-to-Africa Movement" was getting out of hand. Although they considered the whole affair to be bordering on lunacy, they demanded that the government tackle the problem without further delay. The best solution, they added, would be to secure a statement from Addis Ababa informing the Rastafarians that they were not welcome in Ethiopia.⁵⁵

The editorial provoked a response from Sam Spence, one of the key figures in the EWF and secretary of Local 13.⁵⁶ Spence made no secret of his contempt for Claudius Henry and other "obviously most illiterate and uncultured" leaders in the Rastafarian movement, "whose frequent

display of ignoble acts and silly speeches, have naturally led some people to believe that all the people of the Back-to-Africa Movement are illiterate and undisciplined." He warned, however, that "intelligent forces" were agitating for repatriation as well. Moreover, since the Emperor himself had made land available, Jamaicans were most welcome in Africa.⁵⁷

The claim that Ethiopia would indeed be willing to accommodate prospective migrants came as quite a surprise to both the *Gleaner* and Governor Blackburne, who received a copy of Spence's letter. Both decided to swing into action. The editor-in-chief, Theodore Seally, immediately wrote a letter to the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After explaining that the issue was creating "considerable upstir" in Jamaica, he requested "some authoritative statement on the matter, so that truth shall prevail and unrest obviated."⁵⁸

Having witnessed a year and a half of incidents involving increasingly boisterous Rastafarians, Sir Kenneth Blackburne also thought the time ripe to grasp the nettle. On June 10, 1959 he dispatched extensive reports on Claudius Henry and the Rastafarian movement to the Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, Alan Lennox-Boyd. In the accompanying letter he informed Lennox-Boyd that Henry was "a charlatan and rogue of a dangerous kind ... not to be confused with the Rastafarian movement." He hoped that the police would "shortly be able to obtain evidence to justify prosecution" of the Repairer of the Breach.⁵⁹

The governor, however, saw little use in repressive measures only. "In the long term there is little doubt that the only method of suppressing the movement will be by sociological means," wrote Sir Kenneth, carefully emphasizing to be speaking on behalf of Chief Minister Manley as well. Both men thought that "no real impact will be made on the minds of these people unless they can be convinced that their faith in a return to Africa is misconceived and that their belief that they will be welcomed on their return by the Emperor Haile Selassie is without foundation." Thus the governor reminded of his predecessor's failed attempt to enlist the support of Haile Selassie and requested Lennox-Boyd

to approach the Government of Ethiopia in order to secure a definite statement that Government and the Emperor of Ethiopia have no interest whatsoever in these unfortunate and misguided people in Jamaica; and that there can be no question of them being admitted to Ethiopia either now or in the future.⁶⁰

Yet Sir Kenneth also had a plan of his own and expressed "optimistic hopes" of converting the Rastafarians with the assistance of the Moral

Rearmament movement (MRA), a world-wide Protestant organization headed by the former Lutheran minister Frank N. Buchman, bent on delivering mankind through its four “moral absolutes” of Honesty, Purity, Love, and Unselfishness (Eister 1950).

Governor Blackburne’s hopes to have the MRA convert the Rastafarians were based on an idea by – again – the custos of St. James, Francis M. Kerr-Jarrett, the MRA patron in Jamaica.⁶¹ Three years earlier he had pressured Governor Foot to take action against the Rastafarians. Kerr-Jarrett had kept a keen interest in the movement ever since. He had supplied Rastafarian groups with literature about the MRA and was also believed to have supported some financially.⁶² In late May or early June 1959 he was approached by Brother Aubrey Brown, the leader of the Orange Street Gulley group from Montego Bay. Brown had expressed his wish to visit the MRA’s conference center on Mackinac Island, Michigan, and to learn more about the movement’s teachings. After some deliberations, Kerr-Jarrett arranged and financed a visit to Mackinac for seven members of the group, including Aubrey Brown. The *Gleaner*, which now closely followed the developments in the Rastafarian movement, considered the MRA’s involvement “one good way of tackling this urgent problem.”⁶³

When the seven Rastafarians returned from the MRA conference on August 22, 1959, they were welcomed with an official reception in Montego Bay’s Town Hall. From the fact that an estimated three-hundred Rastafarians in “full regalia” squeezed themselves into the hall, it appears that fascination with Moral Rearmament was not restricted to only a small fringe in Rastafari. The press in any case considered it “a history-making occasion.” Welcoming the Rastafarians, Montego Bay’s mayor declared that “it’s my city and it’s your city ... there are no two classes of citizens ... Let us, therefore, build together in peace and freedom.” Brother Brown reportedly told the audience: “I do not have tongue to tell you how greatly respected we all were by the nations there.”⁶⁴ An MRA supporter later reported the contents of Aubrey Brown’s speech to the newspaper:

[B]efore we can do anything at all, we have to be morally re-armed – no thieves, no liars, can enter there and I want you to understand that we don’t want lazy men or women ... What I saw there (at Mackinac) is the greatest thing I have seen in my life – a mighty force. I have never seen anything as big as this before, and I am proud to be a son of St. James ... I was treated like a son of God. Men of every nation wanted to talk with me. Dr. Buchman gave me a seat at his right hand.⁶⁵

Brown was obviously impressed and had clearly enjoyed the respect paid to him. Many members of his group, however, thought otherwise. Shortly

after Brown's return, some forty Rastas deserted the Orange Street Gulley group and joined the Railway Lane group of Leonard Morle, who in February 1957 had broken away from Brown's group after declaring King Saud (ibn Abdul Aziz) of Saudi Arabia to be the Messiah. There were, as the Constabulary Force reported, "considerable ill-feelings against Brown who is accused of abandoning their original object of fighting for the right to go back to Africa and selling himself to build a new Jamaica."⁶⁶

THE IMPRACTICAL PLAN

While the Rastafarians from Montego Bay had been away to Mackinac Island, Claudius Henry had continued his agitation for transportation to Ethiopia. Following his letter of March 1959 to the Foreign Office, Henry was informed that all petitions to Whitehall should be submitted through the governor, who would direct them to the Colonial Office. In May Henry thus wrote a second letter to London, this time to the secretary of state for the colonies and in quite a different tone:

We regard this period of our history as the most important of all ages, when the prophesies are being fulfilled on every hand ... [T]he time has come and now is, for us the descendances of the slaves that were brought here from Africa by English slave traders to return to our ancestors home land known as Africa ... We ... have tried hard to get in touch with representatives of Her Majesty's Government, but we have been always treated with utter dis-regard ... We have gone through organising nearly 15000 people who are now ready to go back home. We therefore through this medium request an interview with Her Majesty's Government to discuss means of transportation. Kindly inform us when an audience may be had with Her Majesty's Government as our deadline date is Oct. 5th. 1959.⁶⁷

While awaiting an invitation from London, Henry actively campaigned in the rural parishes. In May he distributed another 5,000 revised copies of the blue membership cards, followed in July by 25,000 copies of two different pamphlets, all as invitations to the Emancipation Jubilee march. The police reported that the reverend warned that if his demands were not heeded, August 1 would become "Bloody Saturday." The pamphlets, however, called for a peaceful demonstration:

come in your hundreds and thousands and see the beginning of Israel's Restoration and God's plan for our Miraculous Repatriation. We want to assure the General Public that this good tidings of Repatriation, stands for peace and "Freedom of Speech," every step of the way. "NO VIOLENCE."⁶⁸

But the Commissioner of Police refused to grant permission for the march,⁶⁹ forcing Henry to cancel the event.

Nevertheless, during August and early September 1959 tension was rapidly building up. Police reports spoke about increased unrest throughout Jamaica. Rumor had it that some Rastafarians were threatening "to burn down Kingston" if no transportation to Africa would be supplied. The colonial government, however, had no intention to take the demands seriously. In accordance with Manley and Blackburne's advice, Lennox-Boyd informed Henry that Her Majesty's government was not prepared to discuss his "impractical" repatriation plan since "there is no reason to believe that any of the countries in Africa would be willing to receive substantial numbers of persons from Jamaica."⁷⁰

Ironically, it was precisely at this moment, while the unrest was nearing its climax, that the *Gleaner's* editor-in-chief received a reply from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Contrary to what the Colonial Office had just told Henry, the Ethiopians confirmed that

as a token of his appreciation for the services of the Ethiopian World Federation rendered to the Ethiopian cause during the Fascist invasion of our country, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie 1st, has been pleased to grant for the use of the Ethiopian World Federation lands not very far from the capital city of Addis Ababa.⁷¹

Seally at once notified Governor Blackburne, who dispatched a copy of the Ethiopian response to London. Probably against his own better judgement, he informed Lennox-Boyd that since the EWF headquarters were based in New York, "there is no direct evidence that land will be made available, in Ethiopia, to migrants from Jamaica."⁷² Nevertheless, Blackburne ordered the Constabulary Force to immediately gather intelligence on the EWF and the land grant.

The publication of the Ethiopian letter in the *Gleaner* no doubt reaffirmed many in the belief that repatriation would be only a matter of weeks, perhaps months. Reverend Claudius V. Henry R.B., in any case, seemed determined to fulfill his promise of transportation on October 5, in spite of the negative reaction from London. On September 17 he left for New York, where he said he would meet several African and black American leaders to discuss his plans for the "Miraculous Repatriation."

With deadline date coming near, the rumors of imminent repatriation became so persistent that a *Gleaner* columnist once again called for "official pronouncement" on the matter:

[A]ll over the country, public meetings and demonstrations, are being sponsored by various factions of the "Back-to-Africa" movement and it is even being said that a number of natives are gearing to be "shipped" to Africa some time in October this year ... It is of striking interest that a number of bearded brethren and their womenfolk have been busy making purchases of items necessary for the pilgrimage. In some country districts there is talk among some people of selling out their belongings to join the crusade.⁷³

Three days before the October 5 deadline date Henry returned to Jamaica. He had not only gone to the United States, but also claimed to have visited Ethiopia. The *Gleaner* reported that Henry had talks with government officials there, but "declined to comment on the results of his mission."⁷⁴

Within a few days, the full effect of the distribution of the thousands of pamphlets and membership cards, viewed by many as a free passage to Africa, became clear. During the weekend of October 3 and 4, 1959 several hundreds of Rastafarians and others longing to return to the Promised Land gathered at Henry's Rosalie Avenue headquarters, all ready to set sail for Ethiopia. Many, often from the rural parishes, had indeed sold their belongings and were now looking for "the man who ah give out the passport." Henry ordered them to "shave their beards, cut their hair and clean up themselves in preparation for the trip."⁷⁵

But as soon turned out, there were no ships on D-day. The bearers of the blue cards were, of course, bitterly disappointed, but no disorder was reported. Instead, they joined in singing and preaching, patiently waiting for Henry to explain what was going on. Henry, however, failed to put in an appearance, allegedly because he was too exhausted. Some returned home, but others had to stay around, because they either had no money for their bus fare back home or were too ashamed to face family and friends. The *Gleaner* reported that Henry had told "that yesterday was not the day on which the people would leave for Africa, as commonly believed." He said that October 5 had been "a day of decision for everyone," but declined to explain what he meant exactly.⁷⁶

EPILOGUE

In the weeks following the failed repatriation effort, Henry's activities were sharply denounced by several leaders of the Rastafarian movement and the Ethiopian World Federation. The "hoax," however, did not deter the various back-to-Africa groups from pursuing their goal. On the contrary, the reconfirmation of the land grant and the publicity for their

cause released new energies. Sam Spence, secretary of EWF Local 13, emerged as one of the most eloquent protagonists. In two lengthy letters to the *Gleaner*, he minutely explained the "noble aspirations of the African peoples of the world." Spence accused the colonial government of "trying to dodge the issue" and called for immediate "intelligent discussions at the highest level officially on the subject of Back-to-Africa."⁷⁷

Governor Blackburne realized that the comparatively well-organized and articulate EWF might be a far more influential force than the various Rastafarian groups or the discredited Repairer of the Breach. He admitted that Britain had indeed been sidestepping the issue, "and with good reason," but nevertheless felt that "the stage has now been reached for us to come to grips with the situation."⁷⁸

Badly informed as they still were, the governor and the Colonial and Foreign Offices nervously tried to collect further information. The Constabulary Force produced several intelligence reports on the EWF and the British Embassy in Addis Ababa was asked to provide detailed information on the land grant. Blackburne still hoped that some official Ethiopian statement could be obtained, in order to prove that Jamaicans were not welcome in the Empire, but the Colonial Office eventually replied that they saw no chance of securing such a statement: "The Ethiopian government are always very reluctant to commit themselves, and it would be particularly difficult to get the Emperor to rebuff groups of Jamaicans who appear to regard him as a Messiah." In fact, London even advised against approaching the Ethiopians for further information: "A possible complication is that ... the Ethiopians might get the impression that we were ourselves interested in assisting immigration from Jamaica, and it is not inconceivable that this impression might get back to Jamaica."⁷⁹

By the end of the year it became clear that the "sociological means to suppress the movement" had become pitiful failures. The colonial authorities were continuously one step behind. Communications between Kingston and London were slow, while intelligence was in most cases merely of an ad hoc character and not always very thorough. That no one seemed to be aware of the Ethiopian land grant, published on the front page of the *Gleaner* in September 1955, is a remarkable omission. Moreover, although the Constabulary Force kept a close watch over potential troublemakers like Claudius Henry, it had largely neglected the self-declared "intelligent forces": an attitude betraying a gross misunderstanding of the extent to which the quest for repatriation had permeated Jamaican society. Finally, the authorities' reactions also disclosed an at least partial misapprehension of the dynamics of socio-religious movements. Blackburne and Manley no doubt correctly observed that

repression would not contain Rastafari. But paradoxically, repression seemed to increase. They also wrongly assumed that an Ethiopian statement denying the Emperor's divinity or the possibility of migration would have a discouraging effect on the Rastafarians. Governor Foot had already expressed his doubt of being able to "convince our Rastafaris that [such a] statement came from the Emperor," if at all London would succeed in obtaining it. The government-sponsored mission to Africa in 1961, the 1966 state visit of Haile Selassie to Jamaica, and the Emperor's "disappearance" in 1974 would later prove him right.

While the colonial government was rapidly losing track of the developments, it soon turned out that the failed repatriation attempt of October 1959 was only a temporary climax. Six months after the deadline date, in early April 1960, the police raided Claudius Henry's headquarters and discovered a collection of home-made weapons. Henry and fifteen of his flock were charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government and tried for treason.⁸⁰ The preliminary hearings were barely over, when in July his son Ronald and a small number of fellow desperadoes shot and killed three Rastafarians and two British soldiers in the Red Hills. After a massive manhunt lasting several nervous days Henry junior and his accomplices were eventually captured (Van Dijk 1993:131-49). The Jamaican public and government seemed convinced that the whole event was nothing less than a Rastafarian coup attempt. Many questions need to be answered about this episode as well.

NOTES

1. Simpson's early work (1955a, b, c, 1962) is the only contemporary source for the 1950s. Post's (1978) study of the 1938 labor rebellion and Hill's (1981) account of Leonard Howell's early activities are the main sources on the 1930s. Hoenisch (1988) writes on the raid on the Pinnacle community in 1941. Post's (1981) two volumes on Jamaica during World War II provide useful, but fragmentary information on Rastafari during the early 1940s. The most valuable studies for the 1950s are Chevannes 1976, 1989 and Homiak 1985, and forthcoming, based on oral history. Chevannes discusses Hinds's King of Kings Mission, Youth Black Faith, and Henry's African Reform Church. Homiak reviews the rise of the dreadlocks.

2. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (January 5, 1957); cf. Post 1981:95.

3. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 13, 1951, p. 1.

4. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 14, 1951, p. 6.

5. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 14, 1951, p. 6.

6. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 19, 1951, p. 6.
7. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 18, 1951, p. 6.
8. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 15, 1951, p. 1.
9. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 16, 1951, p. 1.
10. *The Daily Gleaner*, April 15, 1954, p. 1.
11. *The Daily Gleaner*, May 3, 1954, p. 4. Chevannes (1989:248ff.) also refers to a march in 1952, while Smith, Augier & Nettleford (1960:11) mention a march early in the 1950s. It is unclear whether this is the same or a different incident. In September 1954 Youth Black Faith once again clashed with the police, when several members were arrested in an attempt to free three others from jail (Chevannes 1989:252-54).
12. There are conflicting estimates about the numerical strength of the Howellites at the initial stage of the Pinnacle community. Post (1981:189) maintains that "over 500" adherents followed The Gong to St. Catherine, but also notes that during the late 1930s Howell's Ethiopian Salvation Society in Kingston had some 2,000 members. Smith, Augier & Nettleford (1960:9) mention 1,600 residents in Pinnacle's early days, while the police reports a number of 1,800 (PRO, CO 1031/2767, January 5, 1957). There are also widely divergent estimates about the total numbers of Rastafarians during the 1950s. Simpson mentions 1,800 in Kingston at the time of his research (1953). The Constabulary estimated the total number island-wide to be somewhere near 1,900 in 1957 and at 1,640 precisely in 1959 (with no more than 700 in Kingston). One year later, Smith, Augier & Nettleford (1960:17) estimated the "declared Ras Tafari brethren" in Kingston alone at 10,000 to 15,000.
13. According to Rastafarian columnist Arthur Kitchin, writing in the *Gleaner* (April 25, 1981) many years later: "It is claimed that Howell was one of the major ganja exporters during this period, with confederates among the colonial establishment and the fledgling government led by National Hero, Sir Alexander Bustamante. Hence, he was allowed to operate without fear of arrest for nearly a decade until his activities were curtailed."
14. *The Daily Gleaner*, July 17, 1941, p. 1.
15. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (January 5, 1957).
16. *The Daily Gleaner*, May 25, 1954, p. 1; May 27, 1954, p. 1; May 28, 1954, p. 1.
17. *The Daily Gleaner*, April 8, 1954, p. 4. The suggestion that Howell was not among those arrested is to be treated with some care as the newspaper collections of the institutions consulted (The Institute of Jamaica, The Main Library of the University of the West Indies and the Gleaner Company in Kingston, the Newspaper Library in London, and the Library of Congress in Washington) were all imperfect. The issues of May 23 and 24, 1954, for example, appear to have been lost. I would, of course, welcome any additional information.
18. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 6, 1954, p. 5; June 15, 1954, p. 4; June 17, 1954, p. 5; June 18, 1954, p. 5; June 22, 1954, p. 4.
19. Chevannes 1989:33; *The Daily Gleaner*, April 25, 1981; Van Dijk 1993:109-10.

20. Pinnacle was destroyed after the raid and Howell is said to have remained in Kingston. He was allegedly sent to Bellevue Hospital in 1960. Why and how long he had to stay there is not clear, but he certainly did not die in Kingston's mental asylum, as Barrett (1977:87) initially assumed. Together with a few dedicated adherents The Gong (re)settled on a new site, also named Pinnacle, in the vicinity of the "front Pinnacle" (Nagashima 1984:39-40). They lived in almost total seclusion, but were occasionally subject to police raids. In 1978 Howell was arrested and fined £1,200 for possession of ganja. His new property was also repeatedly ransacked by burglars. In May 1979 gunmen invaded his home, demanded ganja and money, and molested the 81-year-old Rastafarian (*The Daily Gleaner*, May 23, 1979, p. 1). One year later, Howell lost Pinnacle in a court case, the details of which remain obscure. Apparently a resourceful man, he took up residence in one of Kingston's most luxurious hotels where, in February 1981, The Gong quietly passed away (*The Daily Gleaner*, April 25, 1981). A group of about twenty Howellites still lived on the outskirts of Spanish Town during the early 1980s (Bilby & Leib 1986:25-26; Bishton 1988:109-15).

21. *The Daily Gleaner*, September 30, 1955, p. 1.

22. Between 1881 and 1911 43,000 Jamaicans migrated to Panama, while thousands went to Costa Rica, Honduras, and Cuba during the early twentieth century. In the decades before 1921 46,000 Jamaicans migrated to the United States. Between 1953 and 1962 some 175,000 Jamaicans left for England, the largest numbers (some 71,000) leaving in 1960-61, the years following the Rastafarians' repatriation efforts. After independence migration (mainly to the United States) continued on a comparable scale. Between 1962 and 1989 575,000 legal migrants were registered (Roberts 1974:7-10; *Economic (and Social) Survey Jamaica* 1960-89).

23. PRO, CO 1031/1337 (May 6, 1955).

24. In one such case, in May 1954, the local magistrate had ordered those not native of St. James to leave the parish immediately, but apparently this had little effect, *The Daily Gleaner*, May 3, 1954, p. 4; May 28, 1954, p. 8; June 3, 1954, p. 5.

25. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (August 16, 1956).

26. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (September 10, 1956).

27. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (November 9, 1956).

28. PRO, CO 1031/1958 (November 19, 1956).

29. PRO, CO 1031/1958 (November 19, 1956).

30. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (January 5, 1957).

31. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (January 5, 1957).

32. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (May 30, 1959).

33. PRO, CO 1031/2489 (April 24, 1959).

34. *Public Opinion*, March 15, 1958, p. 4.

35. *The Jamaica Times*, March 8, 1958, p. 4.

36. *The Daily Gleaner*, March 22, 1958, p. 3.
37. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (March 20, 1958).
38. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 13, 1958, p. 1.
39. *Tribune*, June 30, 1958.
40. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (January 13, 1959).
41. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 17, 1958, p. 1; November 26, 1958, p. 1; December 1, 1958, p. 4.
42. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 20, 1958, p. 10.
43. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (November 1958).
44. Chevannes 1976; *The Daily Gleaner*, October 5, 1960, p. 4; October 25, 1960, p. 1; October 31, 1960, p. 4.
45. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 22, 1960, p. 1.
46. One such meeting in Manchester, in September 1958, attracted the attention of the police. They reported the "inflammatory remarks" to the attorney general, but he "advised against prosecution." PRO, CO 1031/2768 (April 9, 1959).
47. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (March 2, 1959). The text cited here differs from the one quoted by Smith, Augier & Nettleford (1960:15-16) and, as far as could be ascertained, all other authors on Rastafari. There were two versions of the cards in circulation: one printed in March 1959 and inviting the holders to the April conference (cited here), and another printed in May, serving as an invitation to attend the Emancipation Jubilee on August 1, 1959 (cited by Smith, Augier & Nettleford). Although most authors, following Smith, Augier & Nettleford, claim that Henry sold these cards at a shilling a piece, police intelligence reports note that the reverend did not charge them (which would have been reason for charges of fraud), but solicited voluntary donations.
48. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (March 25, 1959).
49. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (April 9, 1959).
50. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (April 9, 1959).
51. *The Daily Gleaner*, May 8, 1959, p. 3; cf. Smith, Augier & Nettleford 1960:16.
52. *The Daily Gleaner*, May 11, 1959, p. 3.
53. The Rastafarian gatekeeper was convicted to a sentence of £12 or 90 days in prison, but the trial of the 87 arrested was, perhaps deliberately, postponed until June 15, 1959. *The Daily Gleaner*, May 12, 1959, p. 4.
54. *The Daily Gleaner*, May 11, 1959, p. 8.
55. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (May 29, 1959).
56. Sam Spence, born in 1922, had founded the Brotherhood Solidarity of United Ethiopians (BSUE) in 1941. After Maymie Richardson's visit to Jamaica, the BSUE merged into EWF Local 37. Spence, a government employee, became its president,

but two years later dropped out to establish Local 13.

57. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (May 30, 1959).
58. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (June 3, 1959).
59. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (June 10, 1959).
60. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (June 10, 1959).
61. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 28, 1959, p. 4.
62. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (January 13, 1959).
63. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 28, 1959, p. 4; cf. *The Daily Gleaner*, June 23, 1959.
64. *The Daily Gleaner*, August 25, 1959, p. 10.
65. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 3, 1959, p. 12.
66. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (January 13, 1959 and September 1959).
67. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (May 28, 1959).
68. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (May 11, 1959).
69. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 11, 1960, n.p.
70. PRO, CO 1031/2768 (September 2, 1959).
71. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (September 9, 1959).
72. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (September 30, 1959).
73. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 2, 1959, p. 10.
74. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 4, 1959, p. 1; cf. October 25, 1960, p. 1.
75. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 7, 1959, p. 1.
76. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 8, 1959, p. 1; October 6, 1959, p. 1.
77. *The Daily Gleaner*, September 24, 1959; October 25, 1959.
78. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (October 27, 1959).
79. PRO, CO 1031/2767 (November 11, 1959 and December 30, 1959).
80. Henry was sentenced to ten years, but released in 1967. He had dropped the idea of repatriation and began to build "God's Righteous Government on Earth" in Jamaica and founded the New Creation Peacemakers' Association in Clarendon. From the proceeds of several successful enterprises Henry created a thriving community. During the election campaign of 1972 he again made headlines declaring PNP leader Michael Manley part of the Holy Trinity. Around 1980 he shifted allegiance to the Marxist Workers' Party of Jamaica. The Repairer of the Breach died in 1986 (Chevannes 1976, 1986; Van Dijk 1993).

REFERENCES

- BARRETT, LEONARD E., 1988. *The Rastafarians: Sounds of Cultural Dissonance*. Boston: Beacon Press. [Orig. 1977.]
- BILBY, KENNETH & ELLIOT LEIB, 1986. Kumina, the Howellite Church and the Emergence of Rastafarian Traditional Music in Jamaica. *Jamaica Journal* 19(3):22-28.
- BISHTON, DEREK, 1986. *Blackheart Man: A Journey into Rasta*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- CAMPBELL, HORACE, 1985. *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*. London: Hansib.
- CHEVANNES, BARRY, 1976. The Repairer of the Breach: Reverend Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society. In Frances Henry (ed.), *Ethnicity in the Americas*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 263-90.
- , 1986. Claudius Henry. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 19, pp. 9 and 15.
- , 1989. Social and Ideological Origins of the Rastafari Movement in Jamaica. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York.
- , 1990a. Rastafari: Towards a New Approach. *Nieuwe West Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 64:127-48.
- , 1990b. Healing the Nation: Rastafari Exorcism of the Ideology of Racism in Jamaica. *Caribbean Quarterly* 36(1-2):59-84.
- CLARKE, COLIN, 1975. *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change, 1692-1962*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- DAVIES, OMAR & MICHAEL WITTER, 1989. The Development of the Jamaican Economy since Independence. In Rex M. Nettleford (ed.), *Jamaica in Independence: Essays on the Early Years*. Kingston: Heinemann, pp. 75-104.
- DIJK, FRANK JAN VAN, 1993. *Jahmaica: Rastafari and Jamaican Society, 1930-1990*. Utrecht: ISOR.
- Economic (and Social) Survey Jamaica, 1960-89* [several volumes]. Kingston: Statistical Institute of Jamaica.
- EISTER, ALLAN W., 1950. *Drawing-Room Conversion: A Sociological Account of the Oxford Group Movement*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- GLAZIER, STEPHEN D., 1986. Prophecy and Ecstasy: Religion and Politics in the Caribbean. In Jeffrey K. Hadden & Anson Schupe (eds.), *Prophetic Religions and Politics: Religion and the Political Order*. New York: Paragon House, pp. 430-47.
- HILL, ROBERT A., 1981. Dread History: Leonard P. Howell and Millenarian Visions in Early Rastafari Religions in Jamaica. *Epoché: Journal of the History of Religion at the University of Los Angeles* 9:30-71.

HOENISCH, MICHAEL, 1988. Symbolic Politics: Perceptions of the Early Rastafari Movement. *The Massachusetts Review* 29:432-49.

HOMIAK, JOHN P., 1985. The 'Ancient of Days' Seated Black: Eldership, Oral Tradition and Ritual in Rastafari Culture. Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, Waltham.

—, forthcoming. Dub History: Soundings on Rastafari Livivity and Language. In Barry Chevannes (ed.), *Rastafari and other African-Caribbean Worldviews*. New York: Macmillan.

LAAR, HAROLD VAN DE, 1988. Echo's uit Babylon: Theologie van een Rasta kerk in Jamaica. M.A. thesis, Universiteit van Brabant, Tilburg.

LEWIS, WILLIAM F., 1993. *Soul Rebels: The Rastafari*. Prospect Heights IL: Waveland Press.

NAGASHIMA, YOSHIKO S., 1984. Rastafarian Music in Contemporary Jamaica: A Study of Socioreligious Music of the Rastafarian Movement in Jamaica. M.A. thesis, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia & Africa, Tokyo.

OWENS, JOSEPH, 1976. *Dread: The Rastafarians of Jamaica*. Kingston: Sangster.

POST, KEN, 1978. *Arise Ye Starvelings: The Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and Its Aftermath*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

—, 1981. *Strike the Iron. A Colony at War: Jamaica, 1939-1945*. 2 vols. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press.

PRESCOD, COLIN, 1975. The People's Cause in the Caribbean. *Race and Class* 16(1):71-75.

Report on Jamaica for the Year ... [volumes 1947-61]. London: His/Her Majesty's Stationary Office. [Until 1949 known as *Annual Report on Jamaica for the Year ...*; since 1956 known as *Jamaica: Report for the Year ...*]

ROBERTS, GEORGE W., 1974. Growth of the Population. In George W. Roberts (ed.), *Recent Population Movements in Jamaica*. Paris: CICRED, pp. 1-10.

SIMPSON, GEORGE E., 1955a. Political Cultism in West Kingston, Jamaica. *Social and Economic Studies* 4:133-49.

—, 1955b. The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica. *Social Forces* 34:167-70.

—, 1955c. Culture Change and Reintegration Found in the Cults of West Kingston, Jamaica. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99:89-92.

—, 1962. The Ras Tafari Movement in Its Millennial Aspect. In Sylvia L. Thrupp (ed.), *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 160-65.

SMITH, MICHAEL G., ROY AUGIER & REX NETTLEFORD, 1960. *Report on the Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*. Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

STONE, CARL, 1989. Power, Policy and Politics in Independent Jamaica. In Rex M. Nettleford (ed.), *Jamaica in Independence: Essays on the Early Years*. Kingston: Heinemann, pp. 19-54.

WILLIAMS, K.M., 1981. *The Rastafarians*. London: Ward Lock.

YAWNEY, CAROLE D., 1978. Lions in Babylon: The Rastafarians of Jamaica as a Visionary Movement. Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.

FRANK JAN VAN DIJK
Van Limburg Stirumlaan 36
3445 CE Woerden, the Netherlands

A. JAMES ARNOLD

CARIBBEAN LITERARY THEORY:
MODERNIST AND POSTMODERN

The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective. ANTONIO BENÍTEZ-ROJO. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1992. xi + 303 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 15.95)

Myth and History in Caribbean Fiction: Alejo Carpentier, Wilson Harris, and Edouard Glissant. BARBARA J. WEBB. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992. x + 185 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.00)

Caribbean literature has been overtaken of late by the quarrels that have pitted postmodernists against modernists in Europe and North America for the past twenty years. The modernists, faced with the fragmentation of the region that hard-nosed pragmatists and empiricists could only see as hostile to the emergence of any common culture, had sought in myth and its literary derivatives the collective impulse to transcend the divisions wrought by colonial history. Fifteen years ago I wrote a book that combined in its lead title the terms *Modernism* and *Negritude* in an effort to account for the efforts by mid-century Caribbean writers to come to grips with this problem. A decade later I demonstrated that one of the principal Caribbean modernists, Aimé Césaire, late in his career adopted stylistic characteristics that we associate with the postmodern (Arnold 1990). The example of Césaire should not be taken to suggest that we are dealing with some sort of natural evolution of modernism toward the postmodern. In fact the two terms represent competing paradigms that organize concepts and data so differently as to offer quite divergent maps of the literary Caribbean.

Among the mythopoeic artists who have contributed to the modernist paradigm are Wilson Harris and Alejo Carpentier (from the early 1930s to

the early 1950s). Carpentier sought to account for regional phenomena that defy reason through his term *lo real maravilloso americano*, which is now universally and abusively translated into English as *magic realism*. Among Harris's modernist notions are *the womb of space* – a spiritual unity above and especially beyond historical divisions and ethnic competition in the region. The collapse of discrete historical moments into a mythic present in which fictional characters bearing the same name become part of a spiritual space-time continuum is in fact a constant of Harris's fiction. He has sometimes expanded it into the embryo of a theoretical statement, as in *The Womb of Space* (1983). Theoreticians of modernism have often pointed to Joyce's concept of immanent epiphanies as one of the movement's constitutive features. Antonio Benítez-Rojo refers to "the epiphany of *lo real maravilloso*" (p. 185) in Carpentier's fiction in just this frame of reference.

These are some of the central concepts that underlie and organize Barbara J. Webb's approach to contemporary Caribbean fiction. Her table of contents informs readers at the outset that history will be treated as myth throughout her comparative study. "Myth as Historical Mode: *Lo real maravilloso americano*" is the subtitle of Part 1 of her book. In Part 2, "The Myth of El Dorado" as exemplified by Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos* (The Lost Steps, 1953), and Harris's *Palace of the Peacock* (1960) provides the locus of a "problematic quest for origins." The third and final part of Webb's book uses "myth" and "history" as the two terms around which she organizes "The Dialects of Culture" in the Caribbean. It is typical of her modernist literary theory that she finds in Carpentier's *El siglo de las luces* (Explosion in a cathedral, 1962), Harris's *Tumatumari* (1968), and Glissant's *La case du commandeur* (The overseer's cabin, 1981) the metanarrative of "History as Mythic Discourse." Literary scholars bedeviled with the fractious history of the region, yet intent upon finding a principle of unity, have often reduced history to myth, thereby supplying the concept of a unifying process at the level of theory when it could not be found in phenomenal reality. The philosophical idealism of Wilson Harris, whose debt to Hegel is both great and acknowledged, has been the mainstay of English-language scholarship conceived in this mold, as indeed Webb's book is.

Antonio Benítez-Rojo breaks decisively with the modernist paradigm and its literary-philosophical reductions. His point of departure will doubtless reassure social scientists. He cites at length Sidney W. Mintz to the effect that "it is inaccurate to refer to the Caribbean as a 'cultural area,' if by 'culture' is meant a common body of historical tradition ... It probably would be more accurate ... to refer to the Caribbean as a 'societal

area,' since its component societies probably share many more social-structural features than they do cultural features" (p. 38, citing Mintz 1966:914-15). In this first chapter, entitled "From the plantation to the Plantation," Benítez-Rojo locates a number of regularities, as he calls them, throughout the region where plantation society flourished. Syncretic cultural phenomena are for him, as they have been for many other Caribbeanists, a privileged area of exploration. Benítez-Rojo is most stimulating when he deconstructs such notions as *mestizaje* (*métissage* or creolization). Hypostatized as a cornerstone of national ideology by such different societies as Brazil and post-revolutionary Cuba, *mestizaje* in Benítez-Rojo's reading is "nothing more than a concentration of differences" (p. 26). In this perspective *mestizaje* becomes an unstable concept, as Vera M. Kutzinski (1993) has also shown in her detailed analysis of race and the erotics of Cuban nationalism.¹ "A syncretic artifact" – object, cult, ritual or concept – for Benítez-Rojo "is not a synthesis, but rather a signifier made of differences" (p. 21). Expanding upon this notion, he declares that "in the case of the Caribbean, it is easy to see that what we call traditional culture refers to an interplay of supersyncretic signifiers whose principal 'centers' are localized in pre-industrial Europe, in the sub-Saharan regions of Africa, and in certain island and coastal zones of southern Asia" (p. 21). Perhaps the most stimulating example of this type of analysis is devoted to the Cuban religious cult of the Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre. Rather than search for the ethnic *origins* of this syncretic cult in Taino, Spanish, Yoruba, or even Greek traditions, Benítez-Rojo seeks to tease out the play of differences that constitute this "originating" deity: "the image of Nuestra Señora de Illescas ... is itself another syncretic object" (p. 14), which would lead us back to Byzantium; "Oshun, as a syncretic object, is as dizzying as her honeyed dance and yellow bananas ... This multiple aspect of Oshun makes us think at once of the contradictions of Aphrodite" (p. 15). Jacques Derrida's notion of *différance* provides the operative principle here.

The plantation economy is represented as a machine in the precise sense described by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1972). In this part of his analysis Benítez-Rojo is well served by his early training as an economist. For my purposes here I must unfortunately skip over the economic argument to arrive at its literary implications.

"The Caribbean machine ... is a technological-poetic machine ... a metemachine of differences whose poetic mechanism cannot be diagrammed in conventional dimensions ... In any event, the notion of polyrhythm ... may fairly define the type of performance that characterizes the Caribbean cultural machine." (p. 18)

The argument is occasionally as elusive as its abbreviated form appears here, more suggestive than conclusive, yet it manages to account for features of Caribbean literary phenomena that have eluded earlier efforts. Benítez-Rojo has also borrowed from Deleuze and Guattari the image of a rhizomous Caribbean identity, as opposed to a tap-root identity (p. 255). On this point he is at one with the Martinican poet, novelist, and essayist Édouard Glissant (1990), who had attacked the totalitarian ideology of identitarian thought.² When he wrote *The Repeating Island*, Benítez-Rojo had not yet read Glissant, whose reliance on Deleuze and Guattari is of longer duration and probably more profound. Benítez-Rojo encountered, albeit unknowingly, his Martinican colleague on another point that he considers central to the theoretical thrust of *The Repeating Island*: chaos theory. Glissant devotes a chapter of *Poétique de la relation* (1990) to "Le Relatif et le Chaos" (Relativity and Chaos). The regularities that Benítez-Rojo finds in the Caribbean derive from chaos theory, as he points out in his epilogue, "Bibliographical Note Concerning Chaos" (pp. 263-71). Readers interested in theoretical questions would in fact do well to begin *The Repeating Island* with the epilogue and, only after reading it, return to the beginning of the book.

Like Glissant, Benítez-Rojo needs to be able to discuss a Caribbean poetics that in its subject matter may rely upon ethnicity – for instance, in Part 2, Chapter 3, "Nicolás Guillén: Sugar Mill and Poetry" – while avoiding the kind of ethnic determinism embraced by the Negritude movement (whose greatest poet is Aimé Césaire). The mediation of chaos theory allows Benítez-Rojo to conclude that in the Caribbean "we all try to act the roles that our skin reads out to us. This is a regularity" (p. 236). Regularities, in Benítez-Rojo's usage, account for the repetition of similarities across the Caribbean archipelago without recourse to such notions as cultural identity or symbol, which involve other well-known methodological problems.

Benítez-Rojo relies more on chaos theory in some chapters than in others, whereas Mintz's contribution to *The Repeating Island* can be said to be in inverse proportion to the reliance upon chaos theory. His review of the regularities of Caribbean literature concludes on a note that was struck much earlier by a theoretician of modernism and the postmodern in Europe and North America, David Lodge (1977). For Lodge, *metaphor* was the privileged figure of modernism, whereas *metonymy* best characterizes the postmodern. Benítez-Rojo makes the point in such a way as to tie his "regularities" to metonymic displacement of signifiers:

Well then, it is necessary to mention at least some of the common regularities which, in a state of flight, the Caribbean's multilingual literature presents. In this respect I think that the most perceptible movement that the Caribbean text carries out is, paradoxically, the one that tends to project it outside its generic ambit: a metonymic displacement toward scenic, ritual, and mythological forms, that is, toward machines that specialize in producing bifurcations and paradoxes. (p. 25)

When Benítez-Rojo examines "mythological forms" in writers like Harris and Carpentier (Part 2, Chapter 5), it is the metonymic displacements, the supersyncretic play of differences that he brings to the fore. In this he is resolutely postmodern.

Webb, on the other hand, works well within the modernist paradigm, which assumes metaphor to be the privileged figure of myth. Webb posits a universal human truth lurking in the recurring patterns that it is the critic's task to elucidate. She draws heavily for her concept of modern literary mythopoesis on Harry Slochower's 1970 book, which itself summed up a generation's efforts to rescue meaning from the modernist literary and artistic enterprise. Slochower is a particularly revealing reference because his literary criticism evinced a quest for spiritual meaning in a Western world that was already largely alienated from its founding religions. Webb's examination of the El Dorado legend in Carpentier's and Harris's fiction thus conforms to Slochower's theory of meaning in what he takes to be quest myths throughout literary history:

In most respects, Carpentier's and Harris's use of the mythical framework of a river journey toward the spiritual El Dorado of the interior follows Slochower's description of the process of mythopoesis and involves a revision of the pattern of separation, exile, and return in traditional myth ... By reenacting the quest for El Dorado, the protagonists of the two novels are able to lay claim to their personal and collective pasts, giving new meaning to their present. (p. 63)

Since Naipaul's non-fiction book *The Loss of El Dorado* (1969) falls outside the modernist paradigm and, indeed, is inimical to it, his intelligent debunking of the "myth" is relegated to one endnote on Webb's page 162, where he is cited as an authority on the history of Raleigh's expeditions to the presumably lost city of the golden man.

Benítez-Rojo likewise devotes a chapter (Part 2, Chapter 5) to "Carpentier and Harris: Explorers of El Dorado." As one would expect, he locates his critical practice at the antipodes of Webb's. Whereas for Webb, metaphor inheres in myth and supplies – in sufficient concentration – access to an atemporal truth, signifiers are for Benítez-Rojo floating

metonyms. He deconstructs Carpentier's notion of *lo real maravilloso americano*, citing Carpentier's later texts as criticism of his earlier modernist positions (pp. 177-79) and concluding:

To me, it is clear enough ... that a part of the world is beginning to leave so-called "modernity" behind and to enter a new and unforeseen era that defines itself as "post-modern," that is, having an incredulous attitude toward the effectiveness of any metadiscourse. In that sense, it now seems banal to many of us to seek the legitimation of any novel's discourse within any of the great philosophical, economic, or sociological fables of the past. (p. 180)

This implied criticism of both the modernist paradigm and the Marxist model explains, and for some will justify, the appeal to chaos theory on which Benítez-Rojo's book concludes:

I want to reiterate that this work does not pretend to offer any irrefutable truth, nor does it try to exhaust the theme of the Caribbean's literature and culture. If I have seized hold of certain models belonging to Chaos, it has not been because I think these can manage to signify fully what's there in the archipelago; rather it's because they speak of dynamic forms that float, sometimes in unforeseen and scarcely perceptible ways within the Caribbean's huge and heteroclitic archive. These forms do not constitute any sort of essence. (p. 269)

The proper goals of such research are truths rather than Truth, histories rather than History.

NOTES

1. See especially the introduction entitled "Cuban Color" and note 26, p. 248.
2. See especially pp. 23-26. Richard Burton (1993:15-16) expands on rhizomous versus tap-root identity in Glissant.

REFERENCES

- ARNOLD, A. JAMES, 1981. *Modernism and Negritude: The Poetry and Poetics of Aimé Césaire*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- , 1990. Introduction. In Aimé Césaire, *Lyric and Dramatic Poetry, 1946-82*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, pp. xi-xli.
- BURTON, RICHARD D.E., 1993. *Ki Moun Nou Ye? The Idea of Difference in Con-*

temporary French West Indian Thought. *New West Indian Guide* 67:5-32.

CARPENTIER, ALEJO, 1953. *Los pasos perdidos*. Mexico: EDIAPSA.

—, 1962. *El siglo de las luces*. Mexico: CGE.

DELEUZE, GILLES & FÉLIX GUATTARI, 1972. *L'anti-Oedipe*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

GLISSANT, ÉDOUARD, 1981. *La case du commandeur*. Paris: Seuil.

—, 1990. *Poétique de la relation*. Paris: Gallimard.

HARRIS, WILSON, 1960. *Palace of the Peacock*. London: Faber & Faber.

—, 1968. *Tumatumari*. London: Faber & Faber.

—, 1983. *The Womb of Space*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press.

KUTZINSKI, VERA M., 1993. *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

LODGE, DAVID, 1977. *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

MINTZ, SIDNEY W., 1966. The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area. *Cahiers d' Histoire Mondiale* 9:912-37.

NAIPAUL, V.S., 1969. *The Loss of El Dorado*. London: André Deutsch.

SLOCHOWER, HARRY, 1970. *Mythopoesis: Mythic Patterns in the Literary Classics*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

A. JAMES ARNOLD
Department of French
University of Virginia
Charlottesville VA 22903, U.S.A.

JEAN BESSON

THE LEGACY OF GEORGE L. BECKFORD'S
PLANTATION ECONOMY THESIS IN JAMAICA

Plantation Economy, Land Reform and the Peasantry in a Historical Perspective: Jamaica 1838-1980. CLAUS STOLBERG & SWITHIN WILMOT (eds.). Kingston: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1992. 145 pp. (Paper n.p.)

This interdisciplinary collection focuses on the integration of Jamaica's classical plantation economy with the world economy, and the impact of the plantation economy on the peasantry, land reform, and agrarian modernization in Jamaica from emancipation in 1838 up to 1980. The eight papers comprising the volume were, as a one-page editorial "Introduction" outlines, presented at a symposium at the University of the West Indies, Mona, and are dedicated to the late Professor George Beckford whose work on persistent poverty in plantation economies championed the Jamaican peasantry. As such, the book is a welcome addition to the literature on the Caribbean plantation-peasant interface. However, the chapters are uneven in quality, with some reflecting analytical weaknesses and a lack of historical depth. Typographical errors, grammatical mistakes, and poor documentation are also noticeable. In addition, contrasting perspectives emerge among the contributors and this is not addressed by the editors.

The opening chapter by Michael Witter, "Plantation Economy: Insights for the Twenty-First Century," examines the influential concept of the export-oriented "plantation economy," which was first outlined in the Caribbean and Latin America twenty-two years previously to elucidate underdevelopment. As Witter notes, this concept has recently waned in influence due to laissez-faire development strategies imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the United

States Agency for International Development (USAID). Witter anticipates a return to the plantation economy thesis, which incorporates *multinationally controlled mineral extraction and tourism* as variants of dependent capitalism, as a basis for future development policy. His analysis highlights the emergence of a constrained peasantry and a domestic food marketing system alongside free labor in the post-emancipation transformation of the plantation system. He fails, however, to either locate this peasant formation as a continuation of the pre-emancipation peasantization process, or to acknowledge the earlier consolidation of the domestic food marketing system among "proto-peasant" plantation slaves (Mintz 1989).

Swithin Wilmot's chapter, "Black Space/Room to Manoeuvre; Land and Politics in Trelawny in the Immediate Post-Emancipation Period," is a strength of the book. In a well researched and documented analysis (despite repeated misspelling of my own name), he highlights the role of land acquisition by the ex-slaves as a basis for "dignity, economic autonomy and freedom" (p. 15). Within this context he focuses especially on the role of freehold land in relation to the political process in Trelawny Parish which, at emancipation, had Jamaica's largest slave population and a persisting plantation system (Besson 1984b). Wilmot shows how the ex-slaves used their newly acquired freeholds in Trelawny's Baptist free villages to curtail the power of the planter class and the Established Anglican Church in a by-election for a seat in the Jamaica Assembly in 1852. The case study also adds a new dimension to the analysis of the move to Crown Colony Government following the Morant Bay Rebellion with its demands for land in 1865, highlighting the exclusion of the post-slavery peasantry from the land-based political process and the reassertion of planter power.

Veront Satchell's chapter, "Government Land Policies in Jamaica during [the] Late Nineteenth Century," focuses on the period following the Morant Bay Rebellion. This was typified by disorganized agrarian relations and a paradox of constrained peasant land acquisition coinciding with an abundance of unused land. Satchell shows that government policies from 1866 to 1900 reinforced the plantation system rather than developing the peasantry. He therefore challenges the view that the peasants were the main beneficiaries of these policies. However, the view critiqued is neither identified nor explored, which mars this otherwise well-researched analysis.

In "Plantation Economy, Peasantry and the Land Settlement Schemes of the 1930s and 1940s in Jamaica," Claus Stolberg aims to reconfirm the continuing relevance of the "theory of plantation economy and society"

(p. 39) and to apply it to the land settlement schemes of the 1930s and 1940s. He argues that these freehold schemes maintained the plantation status quo, failing to generate a peasantization process, as redistributed land near plantations reinforced the "occupational multiplicity" of the rural poor who underused their land and were reluctant to become a peasantry. Stolberg fails to recognize either the complex meaning of land to a "reconstituted peasantry" still constrained by plantations, or the fact that "occupational multiplicity" is itself an aspect of the peasant economy (Mintz 1973, 1989; Besson 1984a, 1987b, 1992; and chapters by Wilmot and Augustin). Stolberg also overlooks the marginal nature of the redistributed land (highlighted in McBain's chapter). The historical continuity between the rationale of the land settlements and the imposed location of the post-emancipation "free villages" as reservoirs of plantation labor (see the chapter by Wilmot) is likewise unexplored. Some discrepant documentation between the analysis and its bibliography further detracts from this chapter.

In "Land Reform and the Family Land Debate: Reflections on Jamaica," Peter Espeut presents a "considered opinion," based on his MPhil project in St. Thomas, that the Caribbean peasant institution of "family land is a hindrance to rural development in general and to agricultural development in particular", arguing that "[I]f development planners do not take steps to deal with the problem of family land, then the scandal of land scarcity in the midst of idle land will remain a feature of rural Jamaica" (p. 80). This contributor therefore reverses Beckford's thesis of plantation economy, to which the book is dedicated, by attributing underdevelopment to the peasantry. Espeut's perspective critiques my own argument (which supports Beckford's thesis) that family land represents dynamic culture-building by Jamaican and Caribbean peasantries in response and resistance to plantation society, rather than passive survivals from colonial or ancestral cultures (Besson 1979, 1984a, 1987a, 1987b). Yet Espeut's overview of the regional institution of family land, its controversial interpretations, implications for land use and role for those in need (pp. 70-71, 73-78) reflects heavy and unacknowledged dependence on the very synthesizing sources that he disputes (Besson 1979, 1984a:60-63, 1987a:16-21, 30-32; 1987b:104-5), evoking a sense of *déjà vu* in this reviewer. In addition, much of the remainder of the chapter is comprised of extensive quotations. The bibliography is not consistently presented and one of the references to my own work backdates it to the nineteenth century.

Espeut's argument is filled with inconsistencies, inaccuracies, and untenable contentions. These include a critique (taken unacknowledged

from Besson 1984a:60-63 and 1987a:17-18) of cultural survival theses of family land, while nevertheless concluding, like Edith Clarke (1953, 1966) and Charles Carnegie (1987), that the institution is an African retention, especially of Ashanti derivation. Espeut attributes an Africanist survival thesis to M.G. Smith (1956), who in fact provides a demographic and social structural explanation, and fails to address the discrepancy between Ashanti matrilineal landholding and Caribbean cognatic family land, with its similarity to Pacific land transmission. In his discussion of traditional African land allocation, he confuses chiefly redistribution with kin-based reciprocity (Dalton 1967). Espeut argues, like Carnegie (1987), that I (along with M.G. Smith and Clarke and in contrast to Carnegie) advance a plural society approach to Caribbean land tenure systems. Yet, as noted in my reply to Carnegie (Besson 1987b), my intersystem critique of the pluralist perspective on land tenure both predates and extends Carnegie's analysis (Besson 1974, II:1-113, 1984a:76 n7, 1987a:38 n3; cf. Besson 1988). Thus a reviewer of the Carnegie-Besson dialogue concluded that "the only issue on which Carnegie and Besson really differ, in my view, is that of African retentions; my own position on this is closer to that of Besson" (Trouillot 1989:325 n2).¹

Espeut contends, in his critique of my plantation economy thesis of Caribbean family land, that "the Bahamas never had plantations, and Haiti broke with French colonialism in the 1790s" (p. 71). The Bahamas had cotton plantations (Craton 1987, Johnson 1991); and Haitian family land was not only forged through revolution against the French colonial slave plantation system, but persists in Léogane, a "sugar-plain" penetrated by American neo-colonial plantations (Larose 1975:486-88). Espeut's related argument that "whereas land for peasant activity was scarce in Barbados it was fairly common in Jamaica" (p. 71) similarly neglects the constraints of land acquisition facing the Jamaican peasantry, underlined not only in my own work but also by Beckford and in the chapters by Wilmot, Satchell, Augustin, and McBain. Espeut's further question of why no other response than family land evolved among the peasantries in Caribbean plantation societies likewise overlooks my thesis that family land and common land emerged as variants of customary tenure, created in resistant response to plantation society and colonial agrarian legal codes (Besson 1987a:38-40 n5, 1992:204-8; Besson & Momsen 1987:4-5). Despite Espeut's African-retention argument, he concludes that "family land is indeed a response to the battle with the plantation over land and labour" (p. 71), thus supporting my perspective.

Espeut disputes my thesis that family land is unrestricted; and he argues that "voluntary non-use of family land, and crab antics" (p. 74), which as

he points out are both discussed by me, restrict the system. Espeut, a sociologist, fails to draw the anthropological distinction between exclusive restriction on the one hand and, on the other, the pragmatic but non-exclusive limitation of "voluntary non-use" and the negatively sanctioned "crab antics" of unrestricted cognation (Fox 1967). His conclusion that a normatively unrestricted system, providing especially for those who "don't mek it," is perpetuated (pp. 78-79) reiterates my thesis of an unrestricted system providing particularly for those in need. Espeut's contention that family land results in uneconomic land use further underlines this point, since such land use is generated by unrestricted descent (Besson 1987a). Espeut's inconsistent claim that a reputedly restricted family land system is hampering development therefore begs the question of why such restriction is not enabling economic land use. Espeut dismisses as "project bias" Blustain's (1981) conclusions on the positive role of family land in rural development, without considering similar findings on the advantages of unrestricted family land elsewhere in the island and the region (Rubenstein 1987; Besson 1988). In addition, he overlooks the adaptive role of family land in circulatory migration, which integrates Jamaican plantation economy with the world economy (Beckford 1972; Besson 1984a, 1987a; Thomas-Hope 1992:5).

In "The Sugar Co-operatives in Jamaica: 1974-80," Carl Stone gives a coherent and convincing re-assessment, also marked by the reflexivity typifying Beckford's work, of the establishment and performance of the sugar co-operative project. This entailed the transfer of three sugar plantations, including the island's two largest sugar estates of Monymusk in Clarendon and Frome in Westmoreland, from the state to the sugar workers by the Peoples National Party (PNP) in 1974. The workers became disillusioned long before the project was terminated by the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) in 1981. Stone identifies the paradox which resulted in this outcome: while middle-class reformers had a political agenda for rewriting the historical legacy of the plantation and empowering the workers, the sugar proletariat was concerned with material improvement. Such improvement was inhibited by factors which included the heritage of unviable plantations, run down by multinationals, and constraints imposed by the IMF; and so the real income of the sugar proletariat declined. The result has been a reversion to state ownership of the plantations and to trade unionism by the workers. Grievances among the sugar proletariat have become entrenched, as both political parties (the JLP in the 1980s and the PNP in the 1990s) have tended to put the concerns of capital before labor in the sugar industry. The persistent poverty of the plantation economy has therefore been perpetuated.

Gerulf Augustin's chapter, "Project Land Lease 1972-1980," explores a parallel theme of the PNP government's land reform program whereby 70,000 acres of state-owned land were redistributed to 36,000 tenants through "Project Land Lease" from 1973 to 1980. The project was initially favored by the peasantry but, like the sugar co-operatives, soon lost support among the target group. Like Stone's insightful analysis of the co-operatives, Augustin provides a perceptive account of the collapse of the leasehold scheme. The problems included political patronage, overwhelming administration, insufficient finance, failure of the state-owned Agricultural Marketing Corporation to meet its obligations, land fragmentation, poor soil quality, and the absence of freehold tenure and land titles.

Augustin, like Wilmot, and in contrast to Stolberg and Espeut, acknowledges the social and economic significance of land to the Jamaican peasantry and the related importance of freehold land – a factor which he highlights as central to the peasantry's dissatisfaction with "Project Land Lease." Augustin shows that the leasehold scheme reinforced the plantation economy: "[T]he Government still respected the property rights of large landholders, because 'Project Land Lease' was never intended to give the small farmers the political and collective power needed to challenge the old rural structure" (p. 115). Rather than advancing dogmatic recommendations, Augustin suggests several alternative land reform strategies for discussion. Along with the chapters by Wilmot and Stone, Augustin's analysis is a strength of the book. However, both Augustin's and Stone's chapters would have benefited from more rigorous documentation. There is also a discrepancy in the research periods referred to by Augustin.

The concluding chapter by Helen McBain, "Constraints on the Development of Jamaican Agriculture," focuses on the Jamaican government's agricultural development policies in the 1980s. Against the historical background of unsatisfactory colonial land settlement schemes and "Project Land Lease" in the 1970s, which all entailed marginal land and insufficient funding for small farmers, McBain assesses the "Agro 21" agricultural development program introduced by government in 1983 in a context of economic crisis. This program was designed in relation to the Reagan Administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) and assisted by USAID. Its goal was to transform Jamaican agriculture by increasing and diversifying exports away from inefficient sugar production – for example, through the cultivation of non-traditional crops such as "winter" vegetables – and entailed leasing four of the six government-owned sugar plantations.

Like the land settlement schemes and sugar co-operatives, "Agro 21" did not meet many of its objectives and McBain shows that the program "failed to transform the agricultural sector and improve the living standards of the rural farming communities" (p. 132). This was due to serious constraints, which included "inadequate access to good agricultural land, the uneconomical size of many farms, the low level of technology used by the majority of farmers, inadequate rural infrastructure, the advanced age of most farmers and their lack of militancy in advocating changes, inappropriate government policy and overcentralised and weak institutional structures" (p. 138). Notable was the fact that external funders and investors were more influential than the Ministry of Agriculture, the peasantry, and the traditional farmers, and that the Ministry of Agriculture was marginalized by the prime minister. McBain identifies a number of dimensions to be addressed in order to transform the agricultural sector, including the strengthening of the Ministry of Agriculture. She does not, however, indicate which political party and prime minister were in power. Cross-referencing throughout the chapter is also unclear.

This book represents a serious attempt by the University of the West Indies at Mona and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung to evaluate central themes in Jamaican post-emancipation plantation economy, and to advance rural development solutions for the future. However, while some papers make significant contributions and all the contributors demonstrate laudable concerns, some chapters would have benefited from more attention to rigorous analysis and other dimensions of scholarship to perpetuate and advance Beckford's legacy. As some contributors demonstrate, but others overlook, the cultural history and social institutions of the Jamaican peasantry, championed by Beckford, should be respected when forging paths of sustainable development for the twenty-first century.

NOTE

1. For a reiteration of my position on the African heritage and Caribbean culture-building, in relation to the institution of family land and in response to Carnegie's (1987) Africanist critique, see Besson (1987b:106-8). My position draws support from the theoretical perspectives on creolization advanced by Mintz (1989) and Mintz & Price (1992).

REFERENCES

- BECKFORD, GEORGE L., 1972. *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World*. London: Oxford University Press.
- BESSON, JEAN, 1974. Land Tenure and Kinship in a Jamaican Village. 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
- , 1979. Symbolic Aspects of Land in the Caribbean: The Tenure and Transmission of Land Rights among Caribbean Peasantries. In Malcom Cross & Arnaud Marks (eds.), *Peasants, Plantations and Rural Communities in the Caribbean*. Guildford: University of Surrey and Leiden: Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, pp. 86-116.
- , 1984a. Family Land and Caribbean Society: Toward an Ethnography of Afro-Caribbean Peasantries. In Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope (ed.), *Perspectives on Caribbean Regional Identity*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 57-83.
- , 1984b. Land Tenure in the Free Villages of Trelawny, Jamaica: A Case Study in the Caribbean Peasant Response to Emancipation. *Slavery & Abolition* 5(1):3-23.
- , 1987a. A Paradox in Caribbean Attitudes to Land. In Jean Besson & Janet Momsen (eds.), *Land and Development in the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan, pp. 13-45.
- , 1987b. Family Land as a Model for Martha Brae's New History: Culture-Building in an Afro-Caribbean Village. In Charles V. Carnegie (ed.), *Afro-Caribbean Villages in Historical Perspective*. Kingston: African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica, pp. 100-32.
- , 1988. Agrarian Relations and Perceptions of Land in a Jamaican Peasant Village. In John S. Brierley & Hymie Rubenstein (eds.), *Small Farming and Peasant Resources in the Caribbean*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, pp. 39-61.
- , 1992. Freedom and Community: The British West Indies. In Frank McGlynn & Seymour Drescher (eds.), *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 183-219.
- BESSON, JEAN & JANET MOMSEN, 1987. Introduction. In Jean Besson & Janet Momsen (eds.), *Land and Development in the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan, pp. 1-9.
- BLUSTAIN, HARVEY S., 1981. Customary Land Tenure in Rural Jamaica: Implications for Development. In Harvey S. Blustain & Elsie LeFranc (eds.), *Strategies for Organization of Small-Farm Agriculture in Jamaica*. Mona: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies and Ithaca: Center for International Studies, Cornell University, pp. 47-65.
- CARNEGIE, CHARLES V., 1987. Is Family Land an Institution? In Charles V. Carnegie (ed.), *Afro-Caribbean Villages in Historical Perspective*. Kingston: African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica, pp. 83-99.
- CLARKE, EDITH, 1953. Land Tenure and the Family in Four Communities in Jamaica. *Social and Economic Studies* 1(4):81-118.

—, 1966. *My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of the Family in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica*. London: Allen & Unwin. [Orig. 1957.]

CRATON, MICHAEL, 1987. White Law and Black Custom: The Evolution of Bahamian Land Tenures. In Jean Besson & Janet Momsen (eds.), *Land and Development in the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan, pp. 88-114.

DALTON, GEORGE, 1967. Traditional Production in Primitive African Economies. In George Dalton (ed.), *Tribal and Peasant Economies: Readings in Economic Anthropology*. Garden City: Natural History Press, pp. 61-80.

FOX, ROBIN, 1967. *Kinship and Marriage*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

JOHNSON, HOWARD, 1991. *The Bahamas in Slavery and Freedom*. Kingston: Ian Randle and London: James Currey.

LAROSE, SERGE, 1975. The Haitian Lakou: Land, Family and Ritual. In Arnaud F. Marks & René A. Römer (eds.), *Family and Kinship in Middle America and the Caribbean*. Curaçao: Institute of Higher Studies in Curaçao and Leiden: Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, pp. 482-512.

MINTZ, SIDNEY W., 1973. A Note on the Definition of Peasantries. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 1:91-106.

—, 1989. *Caribbean Transformations*. New York: Colombia University Press. [Orig. 1974.]

MINTZ, SIDNEY W. & RICHARD PRICE, 1992. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press. [Orig. 1976.]

RUBENSTEIN, HYMIE, 1987. Folk and Mainstream Systems of Land Tenure and Use in St. Vincent. In Jean Besson & Janet Momsen (eds.), *Land and Development in the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan, pp. 70-87.

SMITH, M.G., 1956. The Transformation of Land Rights by Transmission in Carriacou. *Social and Economic Studies* 5:103-38.

THOMAS-HOPE, ELIZABETH M., 1992. *Explanation in Caribbean Migration. Perception and the Image: Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent*. London: Macmillan.

TROUILLOT, MICHEL-ROLPH, 1989. Review of Charles V. Carnegie (ed.), *Afro-Caribbean Villages in Historical Perspective*. *Social and Economic Studies* 38:321-25.

JEAN BESSON
Department of Anthropology
Goldsmiths College, University of London
New Cross, London SE14 6NW, England

JAY R. MANDLE

RECONSIDERING THE GRENADA REVOLUTION

Caribbean Revolutions and Revolutionary Theory: An Assessment of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. BRIAN MEEKS. London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993. ix + 210 pp. (Paper n.p.)

The Grenada Invasion: Politics, Law, and Foreign Policy Decision-making. ROBERT J. BECK. Boulder: Westview, 1993. xiv + 263 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

The Gorrión Tree: Cuba and the Grenada Revolution. JOHN WALTON COTMAN. New York: Peter Lang, 1993. xvi + 272 pp. (Cloth US\$ 48.95)

These three books might be thought of as a second generation of studies concerned with the rise, rule, and destruction of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Grenada. The circumstances surrounding the accession to power in 1979 of the government led by Maurice Bishop, the nature of its rule, and its violent demise in 1983 resulted in the appearance during the mid-1980s of an extensive literature on the Grenada Revolution. Some of these works were scholarly, others polemical. But what they all had in common was the desire to examine, either critically or otherwise, something which was unique in the historical experience of the English-speaking Caribbean. Never, before the rule of the New JEWEL Movement (NJM) in Grenada, had a Leninist party come to power; never had a violent coup initiated a new political regime; never had a Caribbean government so explicitly rejected U.S. hegemony in the area; and never, before October 1983, had a government experienced quite so dramatic a crisis as that in Grenada, one which resulted in the killing of the Prime Minister and numerous others of his supporters.

This first generation of analysis was authored in a radically different geo-political environment from that of today. The political left in the region, whether Cheddi Jagan in Guyana, Michael Manley in Jamaica, Bishop in Grenada, or other less successful political efforts in countries such as St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago, all possessed a plausible expectation that they could secure external political patronage. Most often Cuba, but sometimes the Soviet Union itself or at least that country's political allies in Central and Eastern Europe, were looked to for political support, financial assistance, and in some cases ideological guidance. Because such help was potentially available, Third World socialism was a political force to be reckoned with even though the region was dominated by the United States. For that reason an experience like that in Grenada was viewed as doubly important. Not only was the PRG studied in its own right. In addition, the revolution in Grenada was, like Cuba in the 1960s, a laboratory in which left political, economic, and organizational theory could be examined.

These three books represent the emergence of a new trend in Grenada Revolution studies. The fact that we are ten years removed from the collapse of the Bishop government – and, just as importantly, that Soviet and communist patronage is no longer available to left political aspirants – has deprived the Grenada Revolution of its role as a case study of likely future political developments. With the United States the sole remaining super power, no one any longer believes that its regional dominance can be challenged as frontally as Bishop and the PRG did. In the new circumstances the PRG experience in Grenada, as well as that of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and even that of Cuba, are all but irrelevant to current political struggles. Whatever this might mean for politics, the result is that the way has been cleared for the appearance of new studies, dissociated from the preoccupations of the great contest between the Soviet bloc and the United States.

Of the three books under review here, Brian Meeks's is the most ambitious. Precisely in light of the hard times which have befallen Third World socialism, Meeks writes that "[t]here is need for the theoretical re-examination of the directions for Third World development." In his study of Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua, Meeks seeks to determine "whether the concept of revolution remains a useful category to explain political change and whether revolution as myth retains its potential as a liberating vision for intellectuals and countless scores of deprived people in the Third World" (pp. 4-5). As I read him, Meeks does not quite explicitly answer this question, though the general tone indicates that his answer would be in the negative. For Meeks, the Cuban and Grenada Revolutions were led

by "disenchanted, young, potential state-builders, whose avenue to power has been blocked by previous events." In Meeks's formulation these are people of the "middle" (p. 189). Marxism-Leninism and nationalism provided this group with an ideology of state-building, a perspective which Meeks notes he himself found attractive while teaching in Jamaica in the late 1970s (p. 192). Nonetheless, he concludes that Leninist strategies, especially those emanating from the former Soviet Union, proved to be "unworkable" (p. 192).

Meeks knows the Grenada Revolution better than that of Cuba or Nicaragua. His discussions of the latter two are almost entirely dependent on secondary sources. In contrast Meeks was acquainted with the personalities involved in the Grenada Revolution. At the time of the killing of Bishop and before the landing of U.S. troops, he reports his sense of loss since he "knew personally those who died and probably knew the soldiers who had killed them as well" (p. 165). As a result of this intimate familiarity, Meeks's discussion of Grenada is subtle and very informative. He is utterly convincing in arguing that the implosion of the Grenada Revolution was not the result of long-term conspiratorial activity by followers of Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. Similarly Meeks demonstrates that, contrary to assertions made by Manning Marable and others, no major ideological differences separated the two principal antagonists, Bishop and Coard, in the four years preceding the Revolution's destructive crisis.

Rather, the Grenada Revolution confronted a crisis far more profound than a simple personality or political clash between two leading politicians. In 1982 and 1983 the Grenada Revolution faced intense economic pressures as external financial assistance started to dry up. At the same time, the ideologically hostile Reagan administration intensified its overt opposition to the Revolution. Both of these reinforced and contributed to an already impossible work load among the tiny membership of the NJM, a burden which had resulted in the collapse of the physical and mental health of many party cadres. In these circumstances Meeks is skeptical that the pro-Coard group's proposed solution to the crisis – joint leadership between Coard and Bishop – would have done much to resolve the Revolution's problems. Highly critical of the PRG's anti-democratic political practice, he writes that the members of the ruling party mistakenly believed that the solution to the revolution's crisis lay "in the nature of leadership, when what needed urgently to be addressed was the relationship of the entire leadership and party to the people as a whole" (p. 175).

Robert J. Beck's book is a study of the role of international law in the

Reagan administration's decision to invade Grenada. Very little, frankly, is learned using this perspective. There is no surprise to hear that "international legal considerations were not determinative of policy" (p. 207). The most positive thing Beck can argue is that legal considerations were at work when a delay in the request by the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) set back the timetable for the invasion. Even here the effect was weak, for as Beck himself argues, "the Reagan administration would likely have taken some sort of action even lacking a formal request for military assistance" (p. 207). With regard to this last, Beck finds the only legal justification offered for the intervention that has merit is related to United States' concerns for its nationals in Grenada. Beck believes that "an American action *solely* to evacuate nationals would have been legally permissible" (p. 215, his emphasis). Obviously, however, this is a weak reed upon which to rest U.S. policy. The "rescue" of the medical students on the island was not by any means the sole activity engaged in by the U.S. military. Indeed, Beck himself noted that "when considering *only* the rather pathetic way in which they were rescued, the safety of the American students on Grenada would seem to have been a lesser priority in Washington" (p. 33, his emphasis).

From Beck we learn that the Reagan administration's concern for the medical students on the island was in large part the result of its fear that it would become enmeshed in the kind of hostage-taking which had so debilitated the Carter administration. So unfamiliar with Grenada was the U.S. leadership, however, that it bungled its efforts at rescuing those students (p. 22). The U.S. military had practically no idea where the students were and when Army Rangers landed at the True Blue Campus "they discovered to their chagrin that another still larger campus existed" (p. 22). When, on October 27, President Reagan announced that the invasion had been a success, it remained the case that over two hundred students had not yet been contacted and removed from the island.

While not much is to be learned from Beck's international law theorizing, the detailed narrative he provides of the Reagan administration's decision-making is just fascinating. Based on the memoirs of the participants and extensive interviewing, his Chapters 4 and 5 provide at times an hour by hour chronicling of meetings, discussions, and diplomatic deceptions during the thirteen days preceding the invasion. To my knowledge, no such extensive record has been provided by any other author. For this, if not for his conclusions concerning the importance of international law in the Grenada crisis, Beck's book will assume an important place in the Grenada literature.

In the course of this narrative, Beck's book provides insight into the

reasons that the nations of the region failed to devise a solution to the Grenada problem themselves. At a CARICOM Heads of Government meeting in Trinidad on the Saturday before the Tuesday invasion, Eugenia Charles of Dominica, Jamaica's Edward Seaga, Vere Bird from Antigua, and the Foreign Minister of Barbados failed to inform their colleagues that they had already requested military intervention by the United States. Deceived by the reticence of these and other OECS leaders, the Prime Ministers of the Bahamas, Belize, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago – Pindling, Price, Burnham, and Chambers – achieved what they thought was a regional consensus with four elements: a government of national reconciliation would be formed in Grenada and elections would be scheduled; a CARICOM fact-finding mission would be organized; arrangements to ensure the safety of foreign nationals would be put in place, and a peace-keeping force composed of contingents provided by CARICOM countries would be deployed. This regional solution to a regional problem was subverted when the next day the countries that advocated U.S. intervention reneged on the CARICOM agreement (pp. 140-41). My own view is that a regional effort would have been desirable in solving the problem at hand. But in addition to helping Grenada, a CARICOM intervention would have represented a dramatic advance in West Indies co-operation. Seen in this perspective, the U.S. intervention represented a lost opportunity for regional integration and in that sense a set-back for Caribbean nation-building.

The third of these specialized studies is John Walton Cotman's book about Cuba's impact on the Grenada Revolution. It is, however, the least successful. Cotman has picked a rather easy target to attack, but in doing so avoided a set of more difficult issues. It is no problem for him to demonstrate that Cuba's activities in Grenada under the PRG did not constitute external interference in the internal affairs of a country. In dismissing such claims, Cotman is able to cite both Grenada's desire for such assistance and the discretion exercised by the Cubans in extending their efforts. But what he does not do is examine the validity and appropriateness of the theoretical basis for the assistance that was provided. Cotman believes that "the social transformation envisaged by the New JEWEL Movement and set in motion by the People's Revolutionary Government was stymied by a crucial political weakness – authoritarianism" (p. 3). But without an examination of the relationship between that authoritarianism and the Leninist ideology that was the basis upon which the relationship between Cuba and Grenada was constructed, this study is seriously incomplete. The Cubans, of course, did not impose Leninism on Grenada. But the assistance that came from Cuba and the

Soviet bloc was predicated on the PRG's Leninist politics. It thus really does seem that Cotman has gotten things backward when he writes that "Cuban political advice proved incapable of forestalling NJM's drift toward authoritarian rule" (p. 3). It more nearly is the opposite: the NJM leadership was eager to demonstrate its commitment to Leninist principles, and the authoritarianism those principles imply, in order to secure much needed assistance. In that way, the Cubans did have something to do with the failure of the Grenada Revolution. Cotman's blindness to the Leninist sources of the PRG's authoritarianism means that this important element in the Grenada-Cuba relationship has gone unexamined.

JAY R. MANDLE
Department of Economics
Colgate University
Hamilton NY 13346, U.S.A.

RICHARD & SALLY PRICE

SANCOCHO

In devoting this essay to *sancocho*, we continue our tradition of annual book round-ups spiced with Caribbean culinary lore. Having already served up pepperpot and rundown from the Anglophone islands, *migan* from Martinique and Guadeloupe, and callaloo from all of the above, the time seemed ripe to turn to the Hispanic Caribbean. And as our list of books has expanded (from the forty to fifty of previous years to nearly one hundred in this installment), a dish with as many ingredients as *sancocho* seemed particularly appropriate.

According to Manuel Vargas, who generously shared with us his ample knowledge of *sancocho* in the Dominican Republic, the ideal is to include seven meats (pork, beef, goat, chicken, turkey, duck, and pigeon) as well as “many spices and as many roots and vegetables as possible.” Ligia Espinal de Hoetink’s more detailed recipe, also from the Dominican Republic, includes *longaniza* sausage, chicken, pork chops, salt pork, and goat meat, as well as pumpkin, plantains, corn-on-the-cob, four root crops, vinegar, and a variety of herbs, vegetables, and broths. Our Man in San Juan, Antonio Díaz-Royo, provided a number of Puerto Rican recipes from both literary and domestic sources, even treading in the perilous waters of mother-daughter rivalry by eliciting versions from his wife, Cruz Nazario, and her mother, Doña Sol (whose reaction to her daughter’s recipe, presented anonymously by her diplomatic son-in-law, was to dismiss it as mere *sopón*). Despite variation on some of the details (notably celery, chickpeas, and *sofrito*), they both confirmed the general heart of the dish – several different meats and root crops, plus plantains, pumpkin, and corn-on-the-cob. There are also regional differences; Vargas reports that in the Dominican Republic, for example, wheat-flour dumplings are used in the east but pigeon peas are more common in the north and southwest.

Elisabeth Lambert Ortiz's *Complete Book of Caribbean Cooking* (1973) offers seven *sancocho* recipes, all from the Dominican Republic, plus a *saucochi di gallinja* from Aruba (whose ingredients include beef, veal, chicken, potatoes, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, corn-on-the-cob, plantains, and more) and a Trinidadian dish called *sancoche*, which adds coconut cream and cornmeal dumplings to the usual list of ingredients. Trinidadian *sancoche* is documented without the cornmeal dumplings in *Callaloo, Calypso & Carnival: The Cuisines of Trinidad and Tobago* (see NWIG 68:130); it has also been described as a Saturday dish that simply cooks up all the week's leftovers (meat, cocoo, rice, fish, etc.) in a single pot (Gerard Pantin, *A Mole Cricket Called Servol*, Ypsilanti MI: High/Scope Press, 1979:115) – a concept that strikes us as particularly analogous to the mixed pot of otherwise-unreviewed books we present in the following pages. We have been told that *sancocho* is also found in Colombia and Venezuela.

Putting theory into practice while writing this essay, we served up our own seven-meat *sancocho* at a pre-Christmas party. Our Martiniquan guests suggested that the closest local equivalent, in this ever racially-conscious society, might be *manjé-milat* ("mulatto meal"), which is made with "half chicken and half pork, half plantains and half root crops." As part of the same discussion, poet Nancy Morejón, in Martinique to serve on the jury for the Prix Carbet des Caraïbes (awarded this year to Raphaël Confiant, see below) reported that there's nothing called *sancocho* in her native Cuba but that *ajiaco* comes very close. Indeed, one printed source (the upper-class *Memories of a Cuban Kitchen* – see NWIG 68:130) offers an *ajiaco criollo* that includes three kinds of beef, green and ripe plantains, corn-on-the-cob, pumpkin, five root crops, and a *sofrito*.

All of our consultants say that sliced avocados are a customary side dish, all mention rainy days as particularly appropriate for *sancocho*-eating, and all link the stew to rural, rather than urban, settings (though Harry Hoetink encouraged an open attitude toward contexts, citing an exceptionally good *sancocho* that he and Ligia once stumbled upon in a shopping-mall restaurant in Kissimmee, Florida). While our two main Dominican authorities differed on whether the dish should be enjoyed with rum or beer, both cited the classic merengue, "El sancocho prieto." Manuel Vargas provided the full lyrics (by Julio Alberti) to support his argument about the strong sexual connotations of the dish:

Del sancocho prieto
color de tu carne,
tú tendrás que darme,
porque estoy hambriento.

Some black sancocho,
with meat of your color,
you'll have to give me
because I'm very hungry.

Del sancocho dame,
tambien de tu amor.
Quiero con ardor
yo saciar el hambre.

Give me some sancocho
as well as your love.
I want passionately
to satisfy my hunger.

El humo de la paila
quema tan caliente
como quema tu alma.

The smoke from the kettle
is burning as hot
as your soul is burning.

Dentro la gallina
sabe tan sabrosa como tú
hermosa, sabes a divina.

Inside, the chicken
tastes as sweet as you,
my beauty, who tastes divine.

There's much more to the story, in terms of such considerations as race, class, and gender. But we have many books to review, and must move on.

We begin, as usual, with our Caribbeanist Hall of Shame, listing those books that (as of press time, January 1995) we have been unable to review because the scholars who agreed to the task (identified here by initials in square brackets) have – despite reminder letters – neither provided a review nor returned the books so that they could be assigned to someone else. As in the past, this paragraph may serve as a kind of backlist “books received.” (And as always, we would still welcome the submission of any of these reviews, however tardy.) *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*, edited by Joseph E. Inikori & Stanley L. Engerman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 45.00, paper US\$ 17.95) [J.C.C.]; *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica: The Politics of Rebellion*, by Abigail B. Bakan (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990, cloth US\$ 39.95) [D.A.-B.]; *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery*, edited by Frank McGlynn & Seymour Drescher (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 19.95) [L.R.]; *Whispers from the Caribbean: I Going Away, I Going Home*, by Wilfred Cartey (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, UCLA, 1991, paper US\$ 43.00) [M.McW.]; *The Islands and the Sea: Five Centuries of Nature Writing from the Caribbean*, edited by John A. Murray (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, cloth US\$ 22.95)

[D.W.]; *El Caribe hacia el 2000*, edited by Andrés Serbin & Anthony Bryan (Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1991, paper n.p.), *¿Vecinos indiferentes? El Caribe de habla inglesa y América Latina*, edited by Andrés Serbin & Anthony Bryan (Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1990, paper n.p.) and *El Caribe entre Europa y América: Evolución y perspectivas*, edited by Luis Beltrán & Andrés Serbin (Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1992, paper n.p.) [C.A.R.]; *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment*, by Brenda Gayle Plummer (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992, paper US\$ 18.50, cloth US\$ 45.00) [K.R.]; *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800*, by Alan L. Karras (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 34.50) [R.A.McD.]; *Surinaams contrast: Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie 1750-1863*, by Alex van Stipriaan (Leiden: KITLV, 1993, paper NLG 60.00) [R.B.-S.]; *Peregrinos de la libertad: Documentos y fotos de exilados puertorriqueños del siglo XIX localizados en los archivos y bibliotecas de Cuba*, by Félix Ojeda Reyes (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1992, cloth US\$ 29.95) [J.L.D.]; *The Suffering Grass: Superpowers and Regional Conflict in Southern Africa and the Caribbean*, edited by Thomas G. Weiss & James G. Blight (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992, cloth US\$ 30.00) and *The Russians Aren't Coming: New Soviet Policy in Latin America*, edited by Wayne S. Smith (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991, cloth US\$ 25.00) [A.S.]; *Identifying Crime Correlates in a Developing Society: A Study of Socio-Economic and Socio-Demographic Contributions to Crime in Jamaica, 1950-1984*, by Hyacinthe Ellis (New York: Peter Lang, 1991, cloth US\$ 49.95) [J.E.]; *The Novels of V.S. Naipaul: A Study in Themes and Form*, by Shashi Kamra (New Delhi: Prestige, 1990, cloth Rs. 180) and *On the Margins: The Art of Exile in V.S. Naipaul*, by Timothy F. Weiss (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 30.00) [S.N.]; *Esclaves et citoyens: Les noirs à la Guadeloupe au XIXe siècle dans les processus de résistance et d'intégration (1802-1910)*, by Josette Fallope (Basse-Terre Guadeloupe: Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe, 1992, paper n.p.) [D.T.]; *Sources of Bahamian History*, edited by Philip Cash, Shirley Gordon & Gail Saunders (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1991, paper £6.95) and *Supplement to A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834*, by Jerome S. Handler (Providence RI: The John Carter Brown Library and The Barbados Museum and Historical Society, 1991, cloth US\$ 22.50) [H.J.]; *The Jamaican Stage, 1655-1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre*, by Errol Hill (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 35.00) [L.F.]; *Ex-iles: Essays on Caribbean Cinema*, edited by Mbye

Cham (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 18.95) [K.A.]; *The Caribbean in the Pacific Century: Prospects for Caribbean-Pacific Cooperation*, by Jacqueline A. Braveboy-Wagner, with W. Marvin Will, Dennis J. Gayle & Ivelaw L. Griffith (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993, cloth US\$ 35.00) and *Pursuing Postdependency Politics: South-South Relations in the Caribbean*, by H. Michael Erisman (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993, cloth US\$ 30.00) [R.P.]; *Les représentations du corps chez les noirs marrons ndjuka du Surinam et de la Guyane française*, by Diane Vernon (Paris: ORSTOM, 1992, n.p.) [D.N'D.]; *Sam Selvon's Dialectical Style and Fictional Strategy*, by Clement H. Wyke (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991, cloth US\$ 35.95) [V.R.]; *The C.L.R. James Reader*, edited by Anna Grimshaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, cloth £45.00, paper £12.95) [B.S.]. And finally, none of the several Césaire specialists we asked to review *Aimé Césaire*, by Janis L. Pallister (New York: Twayne, 1991, cloth US\$ 24.95), felt it worthy of their attention.

Although as a matter of policy the *NWIG* does not review literature, we continue the tradition of briefly noting those new works that we have seen in the last twelve months. First, two contrasting novels. V.S. Naipaul's *A Way in the World: A Novel* (New York: Knopf, 1994, cloth US\$ 23.00) covers vast territories of the imagination, from the precise, almost surgical memoirs of his summer-before-leaving-for-England as an assistant clerk in the Red House, to morose wanderings and dreamings near the mouth of the Orinoco, contemplating El Dorado – all themes he has plumbed before, yet once again with that inimitable stylistic finesse and chilling gaze. With *Stedman and Joanna – A Love in Bondage: Dedicated Love in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Vantage, 1991, cloth US\$ 15.95), Beryl Gilroy offers an apparently well-meaning (vanity-press) historical novel that hovers between the maudlin and the ridiculous; though the author has previously produced respectable fiction, this work can only be read as an embarrassment even by someone unfamiliar with *Stedman's* original, which needs no bowdlerization.

An unusual number of first novels have appeared. *Dreaming in Cuban*, by Cristina Garcia (New York: Knopf, 1992, cloth US\$ 20.00), moves back and forth, with panache and pathos, between Havana and Brooklyn, international and domestic politics, and the lives of four women. *Secrets* (New York: Villard, 1993, cloth US\$ 20.00), by Trinidadian-born New York writer Kelvin Christopher James, depicts in lyrical prose an island girl's coming of age. In *Under the Silk Cotton Tree* (Brooklyn NY: Interlink, 1993, paper US\$ 9.95), Jean Buffong weaves richly-textured tales of village life in her native Grenada. *Me Dying Trial*, by Jamaican-

born Patricia Powell (Oxford: Heinemann, 1993, paper £5.99), provides a bitter-sweet perspective on the everyday realities of rural domestic life. *The Roads Are Down* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1993, paper £4.99), by Jamaican Vanessa Spence, engagingly explores the romance between a married American man and a young woman from the Blue Mountains. With *Harriet's Daughter* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1988, paper £5.99), the accomplished Tobagan-Canadian poet Marlene Nourbese Philip has published a book for children, dealing with such themes as migration, exile, and the inter-generational conflicts in adjusting to a multi-racial society. *The Dispossessed*, by Clem Maharaj (Oxford: Heinemann, 1992, paper £5.99), is an *engagé* exploration of the lives of the working poor on a Trinidad sugar estate. And Lawrence Scott's *Witchbroom* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1993, paper £6.99) recounts, through an androgynous narrator, carnival tales interwoven with a visionary history of his native Trinidad.

The latest crop of Francophone literature includes no fewer than three simultaneously-published works by Raphaël Confiant (complementing two major books he published the previous year): *Bassin des Ouragans* (Paris: Mille et Une Nuits, 1994, paper FF 10) is a mini-divertissement about contemporary Martinique; *Commandeur du sucre* (Paris: Ecriture, 1994, paper FF 120) offers a somewhat cardboard, didactic *récit* about 1930s life in and around the canefields; and the prize-winning *L'Allée des Soupirs* (Paris: Grasset, 1994, paper FF 130), depicts *la vie foyalaise* during the anti-colonial riots of 1959. Confiant's companion-in-*créolité*, Patrick Chamoiseau, has written a sequel to his own Prix Carbet winner, *Antan d'enfance* (1990); set next to Lamming's classic *In the Castle of My Skin*, which covers similar ground, Chamoiseau's *Chemin-d'école* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994, paper FF 80) seems cloyingly cute, adopting the third person (like the autobiographies of Charles de Gaulle and Julius Caesar) to depict the darling little *négrillon*, with an effect that is not unreminiscent of a highbrow *bande dessinée*. Finally, a very different sort of autobiographical work by the long-time rightist politician Victor Sablé, *Mémoires d'un Foyalais, des îles d'Amériques aux bords de la Seine* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1993, paper FF 115), tries to settle old scores and offers a profoundly French-oriented, non-*créoliste* vision of Martinique.

Four recent short-story collections have come in. *A Boy Named Ossie: A Jamaican Childhood* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1991, paper £4.95), by Earl McKenzie, is filled with simple tales of growing up in rural St Andrews. *Mint Tea and Other Stories*, by Jamaican Christine Craig (Oxford: Heinemann, 1993, paper £5.99), focuses on women's life on the island. *The Man Who Loved Attending Funerals and Other Stories* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1993, paper £5.99) collects for the first time some of the Bajan

stories by the late Frank Collymore, editor of *Bim* and godfather of the whole West Indian literary renaissance of the 1940s and 1950s. *It So Happen* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1991, paper £4.95) reissues the lively 1975 collection by the late Timothy Callender, from whom we once bought a novel he was hawking at the Barbados airport (*How Music Came to the Ainchan People*, 1979).

Several major works of West Indian literature have been reprinted. The University of Michigan Press (Ann Arbor) has brought out George Lamming's 1954 novel, *The Emigrants* (1994, paper US\$ 14.95), as well as a collection of his essays first published in 1960, *The Pleasures of Exile* (1992, cloth US\$ 42.50, paper US\$ 14.95), this latter with an insightful new foreword by Sandra Pouchet Paquet. The republication of Sam Selvon's *Moses Migrating* (Washington DC: Three Continents, 1992, cloth US\$ 20.00, paper US\$ 9.50) reminds us of the author's infectious and unpretentious enthusiasms – visiting Martinique from England just months before his death last year, he picked the very hottest kind of pepper from a bush in our garden and swallowed the better part of it, remarking that he hadn't eaten a fresh one since he'd last been in the West Indies. Roy Heath's *The Armstrong Trilogy: From the Heat of the Day, One Generation, Genetha* (New York: Persea, 1994, paper US\$ 15.00) brings together three of this Guyanese novelist's best, collected here for the first time in one volume, as he intended. Duke University Press (Durham NC) has brought back into print C.L.R. James's classic memoir of colonialism, cricket, and growing up Trinidadian, *Beyond a Boundary* (1993, paper US\$ 14.95). And the professorial team of William Breit & Kenneth G. Elzinga, who write under the name of Marshall Jevons, now boast a new edition of their 1978 mystery *Murder at the Margin* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 34.95, paper US\$ 10.95), which uses (and from our Caribbeanist perspective, abuses) St. John as the platform for their lessons in economic rationality.

Several literary works have appeared in translation. Maryse Condé's *I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992, cloth US\$ 19.95) translates her 1986 imaginative account; an interview with the author following the text makes clear that her intent was to follow her intuitions about Puritan New England and Tituba's role in it rather than to write a "historical novel." *Between Two Worlds* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1992, paper £5.99) translates Simone Schwarz-Bart's second novel, *Ti Jean L'horizon* (1979), and *Le Chânon Poétique* (Champigny-sur-Marne: Edition L.C.J., 1994, paper n.p.) offers a selection of works by Cuban poet Nancy Morejón, in facing-page Spanish and French. And selected poems of Angel Cuadra, a Cuban (now-exile) of a very different

stripe, are presented by Warren Hampton in *Angel Cuadra: The Poet in Socialist Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994, cloth US\$ 19.95).

A number of new collections of poetry have come to our attention. From Jamaica to New England, Lorna Goodison's *Selected Poems* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 34.50, paper US\$ 12.95) speaks in a rich and vibrant voice. Merle Collins's *Rotten Pomerack* (London: Virago, 1992, paper £5.99) moves rather between Grenada and London, and between longing to remember and trying to forget. *Spring Cleaning* (London: Virago, 1992, paper £5.99) is the most recent collection by Jean 'Binta' Breeze, the well-known Jamaican performance poet. And *Duppy Jamboree and Other Jamaican Poems*, by Valerie Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, cloth £5.50, paper £3.75), consists of performance poems for children.

Kamau Brathwaite has published two major poetic works. *The Zea Mexican Diary* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 17.95) is a sustained, riveting account of his innermost thoughts during the three months when his wife Doris ("Mex") was dying of cancer in 1986 – written in his emerging "video" style. His richly-textured *Barabajan Poems 1492-1992* (Kingston & New York: Savacou North, 1994, paper n.p.), presented in full-scale "video" on large-format pages, is filled with multiple surprises and humor. David Dabydeen's *Turner: New & Selected Poems* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1994, paper £7.00) presents his lyrical but muscular long poem, "Turner," taking off from that artist's luminous and horrific 1840 painting, "Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying."

Several books of essays deserve mention. *Roots*, by Kamau Brathwaite (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 32.50, paper US\$ 14.95), reprints a collection first published by Casa de las Americas (Havana, 1986) gathering a number of EKB's major essays, including "History of the Voice." *Motherlands: Black Women's Writing from Africa, the Caribbean and South Asia*, edited by Susheila Nasta (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 36.00, paper US\$ 12.95), brings together essays by a variety of astute critics. Pedro Pérez Sarduy & Jean Stubbs have introduced and edited the timely collection *AfroCuba: An Anthology of Cuban Writing on Race, Politics and Culture* (Melbourne Australia: Ocean Press, 1993, paper US\$ 34.95). Anil Ramdas has published the second in his series of snappy T.V. interviews with non-Dutch intellectuals, *In mijn vaders huis II* (Amsterdam: Jan Mets, 1994, paper NLG 27.50), this time engaging among others Edward Said, Paul Gilroy, bell hooks, and Dick Hebdige.

There are three new relevant volumes in the World Bibliographical Series, published at Oxford by Clio, and each containing some 600 annotated items: *Virgin Islands*, compiled by Verna Penn Moll (1991, cloth US\$ 78.00), which includes much useful material but inexplicably manages to overlook Gordon K. Lewis's *The Virgin Islands: A Caribbean Lilliput* (1972); *St. Vincent and the Grenadines*, compiled by Robert B. Potter (1992, cloth US\$ 79.00); and *Netherlands Antilles and Aruba*, compiled by Kai Schoenhals (1993, cloth US\$ 50.00), which suffers even more than the others from the series-wide targeting of mono-lingual Anglophone readers. The distinguished Haitianist Léon-François Hoffmann has produced *Bibliographie des études littéraires haïtiennes 1804-1984* (Vanves: EDICEF, 1992, paper FF 120), an unannotated 2767-item-long list that makes a brave beginning in what are perhaps the Caribbean's most bibliographically troubled waters. Manuel J. Carvajal's *The Caribbean 1975-1980: A Bibliography of Economic and Rural Development* (Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow, 1993, cloth US\$ 89.50) explains neither the justification for (or significance of) its strict temporal limitations nor the rather random nature of its 5300 largely unannotated selections. *Political Parties of the Americas and the Caribbean: A Reference Guide* (Harlow Essex: Longman, 1992, cloth £82.00), edited by John Coggins & D.S. Lewis, provides encyclopedia-type data, including recent election results, updated to May 1992.

A number of recent books devote one or more chapters to the Caribbean. *Size & Survival: The Politics of Security in the Caribbean and the Pacific* (London: Cass, 1993, cloth £30.00), edited by Paul Sutton & Anthony Payne, includes Gary Brana-Shute's analysis of the Tukuyana Amazonas insurgency in Suriname, Bishnu Ragoonath's assessment of the Abu Bakr coup in Trinidad, Ivelaw L. Griffith's overview of drug penetration in the Commonwealth Caribbean, and Paul Sutton's reflections on small state security in the region. Joseph K. Adjaye's edited book, *Time in the Black Experience* (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1994, cloth US\$ 55.00), has a nuanced chapter by Kenneth M. Bilby about time and history among the Aluku Maroons as well as one by the volume's editor on the Maroons of Jamaica. *Campesinos: Kleine boeren in Latijns-Amerika, vanaf 1520*, edited by Arij Ouweneel (Amsterdam: Thela, 1993, paper NLG 49.50), gathers eighteen pieces by one American and several Dutch scholars including two on the Caribbean: Gert Oostindie's historical overview of Caribbean peasantries and Michiel Baud's analysis of nineteenth- and twentieth-century peasants in the Dominican Republic's Cibao region. *Robert Durfee's Journal and Recollections of Newport, Rhode Island, Freetown, Massachusetts, New York City & Long Island*,

Jamaica & Cuba, West Indies & Saint Simons Island, Georgia, ca. 1785-1810, edited by Virginia Steele Wood (Marion MA: Belden Books, 1990, cloth US\$ 29.95), contains a few pages on the Caribbean but the author's illness during this portion of the voyage limited his observations. For those still unsatiated by the Quincentenary, Rebecca Catz provides a Luso-centric perspective on the Great Navigator in *Christopher Columbus and the Portuguese, 1476-1498* (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1993, cloth US\$ 45.00). Alan Dundes's excellent and wide-ranging anthology, *The Cockfight: A Casebook* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 58.00, paper US\$ 19.95), includes a lone chapter on the Caribbean – Francis Affergan's idiosyncratic structuralist/psychoanalytic take on the Martiniquan variant. *France's Overseas Frontier: Départements et Territoires d'Outre-Mer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 69.95), by Robert Aldrich & John Connell, competently skims through history, politics, and culture, serving as a useful English-language introduction to these "confetti of empire" – including Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane. Jean Benoist's important work of medical anthropology, *Anthropologie médicale en société créole* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993, paper FF 178), focuses on the fourth of France's *vieilles colonies*, Réunion in the Indian Ocean, but within an analytical framework of creolization that Caribbeanists would ignore at their peril. Finally, *Creole Movements in the Francophone Orbit* (special issue of *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no. 102, 1993), edited by Ellen M. Schnepel & Lambert-Félix Prudent, includes several Caribbeanist chapters: on St. Lucia, Dominica, Haiti, Guadeloupe, and Martinique.

A number of new editions or reprints of scholarly works merit mention. Prefaced by a new foreword by Faye V. Harrison, *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1993, cloth US\$ 42.00), edited by Vera Rubin & Arthur Tuden, still contains much lively debate. A second edition has appeared of Sally Price's *Co-Wives and Calabashes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, paper US\$ 14.50) with a new preface updating the situation of Maroon women and engaging some recent feminist controversies. *The Puerto Ricans: A Documentary History*, edited by Kal Wagenheim & Olga Jiménez de Wagenheim (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1994, paper n.p), is a lightly revised edition of a 1973 collection. Unchanged reprints include: *Bondsmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua*, by David Barry Gaspar (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1993, paper US\$ 18.95); *Puerto Rico's Revolt for Independence: El Grito de Lares*, by Olga Jiménez de Wagenheim (Prince-

ton: Markus Wiener, 1993, paper US\$ 11.95); and *A History of the Virgin Islands of the United States*, by Isaac Dookhan (Kingston Jamaica: Canoe Press, 1994, paper J\$ 494.00). *Cuba: A Short History*, edited by Leslie Bethel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 44.95, paper US\$ 14.95), reprints in handy form the country-specific chapters from the *Cambridge History of Latin America* (see NWIG 67:104). *A Black Woman's Odyssey through Russia and Jamaica: The Narrative of Nancy Prince*, introduced by Ronald G. Walters (New York: Markus Wiener, 1990, paper US\$ 8.95), makes available this free African American's description of her 1840-41 stay in post-emancipation Jamaica. *Puerto Rico: The Four-Storeyed Country and Other Essays*, by José Luis González (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1993, paper US\$ 12.95), translates for the first time these provocative essays on national identity by one of Puerto Rico's leading writers. And Reinier Heere, through his publishing house Lord & Hunter based on St. Maarten, has begun issuing a series of reprints on the history of the island; entitled *Tropical Mirror*, the series has thus far published relevant portions of M.D. Teenstra's *De Nederlandsch West-Indische eilanden* (1836/1837) as well as a 1937 article by F.S. Langemeyer in *De West-Indische Gids*, both translated into English.

There are several new books of photography and a number on art, architecture, and gardening. The large-format *Dancing on Fire: Photographs from Haiti*, by Maggie Steber with an introduction by Amy Wilentz (New York: Aperture, 1991, cloth n.p.) presents absolutely gripping color photos, taken between 1986 and 1991, arranged in a narrative sequence that underlines the horror and beauty – the despair and hope – of daily life during that period. In the stark, breathtaking *Puerto Rico Mio: Four Decades of Change / Cuatro décadas de cambio* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990, paper US\$ 24.95) – which has introductory essays by, among others, Sidney W. Mintz and Arturo Morales Carrión – Jack Delano presents some 175 of the b/w photos (here printed as duotones) that he shot during the 1940s and 1980s, above all riveting images of working people and their families. *Havana: Portrait of a City*, by Juliet Barclay with photographs by Martin Charles (London: Cassell, 1993, cloth US\$ 35.00) mainly portrays architectural monuments, to the end of the nineteenth century. Ute Stebich's *A Haitian Celebration: Art and Culture* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1992, paper n.p.) documents the fine collection recently acquired by the Milwaukee museum. *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*, by Albert Boime (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990, paper US\$ 24.95), conveniently presents a range of important and oft-neglected materials.

The Caribbean: A Painter's Paradise, by William Wood (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993, cloth £9.99), consists of this British author's own West Indian paintings, set off by fragments from the poems of Walcott, McKay, Drayton, and others. John Michael Vlach's handsome *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 37.50, paper US\$ 18.95) is devoted to the architecture of North American slave culture but contains pictures and insights relevant to all Caribbean historians. *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*, by Richard Westmacott (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992, paper US\$ 24.95), while again dealing with the southern United States, focuses on the present and provides ethnographers of the Caribbean numerous seeds for thought. Which leads us fairly naturally to *Gardening in the Caribbean*, by Iris Bannochie & Marilyn Light (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993, cloth £10.95) and *Wild Plants of Barbados* by Sean Carrington (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993, cloth £12.99), the first a how-to guide devoted largely to ornamental plants, and the second a useful illustrated compendium that describes more than five-hundred wild plants of all kinds.

A bumper crop of guide books has reached us. *Caribbean Ways: A Cultural Guide* (Westwood MA: Riverdale, 1993, paper US\$ 19.95), by the well-meaning Chelle Koster Walton, deliberately skirts the Club Meds and KFCs in "quest of an authentic [Caribbean] experience"; she gets much of it just about half right – in Jamaica, *abengs* become "cow-bells," in Martinique l'Anse Miton gets confused with l'Anse à l'Ane and le François is canonized St. François, the Guadeloupean drum called *gwo ka* turns into *quo wa*, and her garbled ideas on "language" (p. 218) are almost worth quoting in extenso (though we won't). *Rum & Reggae. The Insider's Guide to the Caribbean: What's Hot and What's Not*, by Jonathan Runge (New York: Villard, 1993, paper US\$ 17.00), which updates a 1988 St. Martin's Press publication, touts everything that *Caribbean Ways* eschews – "the best nude beaches," "the wildest yachting nightlife scene," and ... you get the idea. *Jamaica in Focus: A Guide to the People, Politics, and Culture*, by Marcel Bayer (London: Latin America Bureau, 1993, paper £5.99), has nothing on hotels or beaches but provides an excellent introduction to social life and history – the sort of thing every island visitor should read. *St. Vincent and the Grenadines*, by Lesley Suttly (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993, paper £5.50), is a passable Baedeker by a veteran sailor and 20-year-long resident. There are two new texts for the Dutch market – *Suriname* (Landenreeks), by Wim Noordegraaf and Marie-Annet van Grunsven (Amsterdam: Koninklijk

Instituut voor de Tropen, 1993, paper NLG 14.90), and *Suriname*, by Wim Noordegraaf (The Hague: ANWB, 1994, paper NLG 27.50) – the latter a detailed, practical guidebook for visitors to all parts of the country (including the new tourist-island developments in the Saramaka region where we worked), as well as to French Guiana and Guyana.

A very different guidebook is *Martinique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994, paper FF 175 – though bookstores on the island charge FF 204.75). Profusely illustrated with encyclopedia-style images (some as small as one cm²), written in part by university scholars, and covering with apparent expertise everything from plate tectonics and marine life to history and literature, this ambitious work nevertheless disappoints. It views ongoing cultural practices with a downward gaze, combining folklorization and museumification (with scarcely a word to let the reader know that Martinique's largest industry is tourism, which is wreaking great transformations throughout the isle). We are told, for example, in a handsomely illustrated two-page spread on the *gomyé* (the fishing boat dating back to the Caribs) that this craft "n'est plus utilisé actuellement que pour les courses traditionnelles" – and yet as we sit at the laptop and look out at Anse Chaudière through a papaya tree, we can see one *gomyé* whose occupant is pulling fishpots, two others engaged in laying out a *balaou* seine, and a fourth making its way from the *bourg* of Anses d'Arlet toward Petite Anse. And the blatant appropriation of illustrations from foreign historical sources renders poor service to the text's arguments for Martinique's specificity. The authors give no indication, for example, that the *Indien Caraïbe* on page 76 is a Kaliña from Suriname. Nor that the most important depictions of slave life are also lifted wholesale (and without credit) from Benoit's lithographs of that Dutch colony, embellished with a newly constructed commentary implying that they show the particularities of Martinique – the text accompanying "slaves returning from the fields" (which Benoit titled "slaves *on their way to the fields*") points to the unusual elegance of their clothing; Benoit's "wigmaker with his young slave" is described here as wearing "the clothing of a freedman, proud that he need not carry anything himself"; the depiction of a slave *fête*, accompanied by a quote from Frantz Fanon, fails to mention that the image in fact shows the distinctive Surinamese *doe*; the entry on *le costume* ("In rags or nearly naked while working, the slaves liked to dress up, whenever they could, in fine clothing and jewelry") in fact shows typical nineteenth-century "*missie*" dress from Suriname; and even the vision of the heroic Maroon (here embedded in quotes from Césaire, Chamoiseau, Confiant, and Glissant) is illustrated by two uncredited images from Suriname – one a runaway slave and the other

a slave(!) that Benoit drew carrying a basket for his master (who is here simply cropped out of the picture).

This season's culinary harvest is sparse. *Island Cooking: Recipes from the Caribbean* (Freedom CA: Crossing Press, 1988, paper US\$ 10.95) is a solid, unpretentious sampling from throughout the region, by the Jamaican-born Dunstan A. Harris. In *A Taste of the Tropics: Traditional & Innovative Cooking from the Pacific & Caribbean* (Freedom CA: Crossing Press, 1991, paper US\$ 10.95), Jay Solomon – an Ithaca NY restaurateur – does his bit for globalization by providing a number of generic “island style” dishes and drinks. *Cooking the Caribbean Way: A West Indies Recipe Book* (St. Maarten: Lord & Hunter, n.d., n.p.) is a slapdash affair replete with recipes missing key portions, historical howlers (e.g., that “peanuts were brought to the West Indies from Indonesia in 1890”), and the anonymous authors’ “composite chef whom we call Celestine.”

Several new works on slavery and its aftermath. *The Danish West Indian Slave Trade: Virgin Islands Perspectives*, edited by George F. Tyson & Arnold R. Highfield (St. Croix: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1994, paper n.p.), includes original contributions by Colin Palmer, Svend E. Holsoe, Sandra E. Greene, Karen Fog Olwig, and Highfield. *The Kamina Folk: Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies*, edited by George F. Tyson & Arnold R. Highfield (St. Thomas: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1994, paper n.p.), is a fine compilation of testimonies (many in translation) from first-hand observers. In “*The Land is the Heritage*”: *Land and Community on St. John* (St. John Oral History Association, 1994, paper n.p.), Karen Fog Olwig offers a little gem consisting of oral testimonies combined with a moving analysis of the ways St. Johnians understand their own incorporation into the modern global system. Anthony de Verteuil, principal of St. Mary's College, continues his series of high school-level, uplifting historical sagas with *Seven Slaves and Slavery: Trinidad 1777-1838* (Port of Spain: Scrip-J Printers, 1992, paper n.p.).

Some volumes didn't fit into our earlier categories. *Alternative Cultures in the Caribbean: First International Conference of the Society of Caribbean Research, Berlin 1988*, edited by Thomas Bremer & Ulrich Fleischmann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1993, paper n.p.), includes a miscellany of papers, but as only some three of the twenty-three contributors are not German (or Austrian or Polish), the volume – which is largely in English with some French and Spanish – may be most useful as a window for non-German speakers on current Caribbeanist work across the Rhine. *El Caribe colonial*, by Consuelo Naranjo Orovio (Madrid: AKAL,

1992, paper n.p.), part of a series of quincennial pamphlets, makes a quick, encyclopedic run through the territory. *Small Country Development and International Labor Flows: Experiences in the Caribbean*, edited by Anthony P. Maingot (Boulder CO: Westview, 1991, paper n.p.) – for which we tried in vain to find a reviewer – contains a set of competent articles on the Anglophone islands, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti, that will be of interest to specialists. *'Bananensplit' in Europa: Protectionisme versus liberalisme in het Europese bananenbeleid*, edited by C.P. van den Tempel & G.M. van der Horst (Amsterdam: Caribische Werkgroep AWIC, 1994, paper NLG 32.50), gathers together a number of pertinent reflections and statistics about the European banana market. *Asuntos dominicanos en archivos ingleses*, edited by Bernardo Vega & Emilio Cordero Michel (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1993, paper n.p.), translates into Spanish five English-language sources, including little-known archival manuscripts, on the Dominican Republic. And Gert Oostindie's *Caraïbische dilemma's in een 'stagnerend' dekolonisatie-proces* (Leiden: KITLV, 1994, paper NLG 12.50), the expanded version of his inaugural address on the occasion of taking up a professorial chair at Utrecht, ranges through time and space across the Caribbean world to home in, at the end, on present-day realities.

Finally, and against all odds, the *Bulletin du Bureau National d'Ethnologie* (Port-au-Prince) has published a special issue, dated 1987-1992, devoted in large part to "Ayti before and after 1492."

RICHARD & SALLY PRICE
Anse Chaudière
97217 Anses d'Arlet, Martinique

BOOK REVIEWS

C.L.R. James' Caribbean. PAGET HENRY & PAUL BUHLE (eds.). Durham: Duke University Press, 1992. xvi + 287 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 16.95)

SIDNEY W. MINTZ
Department of Anthropology
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.

C.L.R. James had achieved unimpeachable mythic status long before he died in 1989 at the age of 88. Twenty years ago, a visiting friend who slept in my study asked me one morning whether the man named James who had written "all of those books in your library" was nicknamed "Nello." Familiar as I was with my friend's antecedents, the question startled and intrigued me. "Yes," I said, somewhat condescendingly, "but how did you know?" "Oh," he answered rather casually, "he used to be married to my cousin Selma." The way my friend's proportions changed in my eyes on receiving this intelligence was proof enough to me of Nello's mythic stature – at least for this friend and admirer.

A tall and handsome man, charming and courtly, a polymath, a superb athlete, prolific writer, and political radical, he was known through much of the Western world, and renowned in that which people still persist in calling the "Third." His corpus of written work is marked not only by brilliance but also by breadth. Think of a man who wrote on cricket, Melville, and the Haitian Revolution, and produced novels besides: shades of Baldassare Castiglione! That his gifts were never fully appreciated, and particularly not in those very circles to be accepted within which so much of his early learning had been unknowingly dedicated, is the persisting

bitter truth of a world that still wears its racism and its history of imperialism much too lightly.

In this tribute to James, twelve selections by eight contributors compose a book intended to restore *the Caribbean region* to its rightful place inside James's thought and writing. Its four parts are: Portraits and self-portraits; The early Trinidadian years; Textual explorations; and Praxis. Specific contributions range from Paul Buhle's interview of George Lamming, who shares reminiscences and opinions of James, to an essay by the editors entitled "Caliban as Deconstructionist: C.L.R. James and Post-Colonial Discourse." Readers are not introduced to James, so much as plunged by this array into a meeting of fervent "James persons," holding forth.

The book is a success; but it has its imperfections. Though they do not intend it, the editors mean by "the Caribbean" the *Anglophone* Caribbean, as is clear from their preface. Yet most non-Caribbeanists who recognize James know him through *The Black Jacobins*, which is about revolutionary French St. Domingue. Others know that James was always interested in a vision of the Caribbean region that transcended language and colonial tradition. Not quite enough respect is paid to that vision here. Thus the inexplicit but no less real preoccupation with the British West Indies is at first slightly disorienting, and the random references to pan-Caribbeanism, or to Caribbean figures outside the English-speaking parts, somewhat distracting.

Almost all of the contributors, who profess enormous admiration for James, must struggle with the contradictions that marked him and his work. Sylvia Wynter sums it up at one point:

a Negro yet British, a colonial native yet culturally a part of the public school code, attached to the cause of the proletariat yet a member of the middle class, a Marxian yet a Puritan, an intellectual who plays cricket, of African descent yet Western, a Trotskyist and Pan-Africanist, a Marxist yet a supporter of black studies, a West Indian majority black yet an American minority black ... It was evident that the Negro question ... could not be solved by an either/or ... The quest for a frame to contain them all came to constitute the Jamesian poesis. (p. 69)

Nor did James himself make short work of the contradictions, then stay the course. Indeed, if it is true that consistency typifies small minds, James certainly rose above it. In a penetrating essay, Walton Look Lai considers James's politics in relation to Trinidad, his birthplace, and takes note of the strains that marked the differences between Eric Williams the practicing politician and James, the theorist and (many would say) the more

principled teacher and doyen. James's confidence in the innate ability of ordinary people to rise to political challenges and, indeed, to grow through struggle, is both moving and inspiring. But he was always the outsider, and hardly ever called upon to be practical in his politics. Part of his accrued virtue comes merely from being spared the need to act. His hope that Caribbean sugar proletarians might become a new class of highly productive, modern peasants, for example, is one that many of us might share. But how to get from here to there? Paget Henry points out that George Beckford's plan to advance the Jamaican peasantry along progressive lines was ultimately rejected, precisely because of a lack of faith on the part of party politicians in the rural Jamaicans' ability to meet the program production goals. This was the kind of hard decision that James never had to confront. So particular are the issues with which these writers are concerned that a brief review cannot adequately engage them. But I was sorry not to find an introductory essay that could have given uninitiated readers a less complex sense of the man's importance. For persons just beginning to learn about *the Caribbean*, it is essential that they learn against what terrible obstacles the people of James's generation struggled, with what beauty and grace they waged that struggle, and with what suspicion and condescension they were so often met. The ins and outs of James's life – politically, intellectually, and personally – are certainly fascinating; but readers need to know against what background they can learn them. Put alongside the stories of such others as Norman Manley, Aimé Césaire, J.A. Corretjer and Henri Bangou – to pick but a random few – a good deal about C.L.R. James's Caribbean might have been revealed. But it's rarely fair weather when exegetes get together. This is a good book, for experts.

Over Noach met zijn zonen: De Cham-ideologie en de leugens tegen Cham tot vandaag. JAN M. VAN DER LINDE. Utrecht: Interuniversitair Instituut voor Missiologie en Oecumenica, 1993. 160 pp. (Paper NLG 29.50)

ALLISON BLAKELY
Department of History
Howard University
Washington D.C. 20059, U.S.A.

No other myth of comparable historical impact has received as little comprehensive scholarly treatment as that surrounding Noah's Biblical curse

of Canaan in Genesis 9:22-27. In his brief historical overview of the subject, Jan van der Linde draws heavily upon the voluminous study by Arno Borst (1957-63) on the origins of peoples and languages to frame a critical discussion of the writings on the evolution and migration of the Hamitic legend over the centuries and around the world. The book's early chapters treat Old Testament, Judaic, early Christian, and Islamic sources. The remaining several chapters are organized along time periods and geographical regions: medieval Europe; the Reformation and Counter Reformation; the Enlightenment; the age of discovery; the era of European colonialism and missionary activities; and concluding chapters on the period 1800-1960, focusing respectively on North America and England, Europe in general, and finally Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean in a single chapter. The difficulties inherent in such an ambitious outline become immediately apparent when, for example, the chapter covering Ham in Europe in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries actually treats only the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, and Switzerland; and that of Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean area really discusses just South Africa, Suriname, and the Netherlands Antilles.

In each section the book centers its discussion on the views of selected writers, such as the Rabbinical texts, Islamic chroniclers, the Church Fathers, modern religious and political leaders, and the philosophes, all of whom adopted or rejected aspects of the legend at times to support their own immediate concerns. The variant interpretations presented span all sides of the arguments concerning the legitimacy and meaning of the legend. Thus Augustine, Aquinas, Henry the Navigator, Luther, Erasmus, Calvin, Bayle, Voltaire, Jefferson, and even Fidel Castro all took stands on the myth. Van der Linde regrets that even when certain thinkers debunked the myth, they rarely acted forcefully upon their conclusions: for instance, the failure of the renowned skeptic Pierre Bayle to speak out against slavery and the slave trade, the main historical developments the myth has been invoked to justify.

Those familiar with the author's work (e.g., Van der Linde 1963 and 1987) will recognize some of his frequent themes. He makes only passing references to other recent studies treating the Hamitic legend. Throughout his book he reiterates his sense of the injustice in the text of Genesis, which punished Canaan for an insult from Ham, his father. Then there is the illogic of the Hamitic tradition in applying the alleged curse to only one of Ham's four sons, and dark complexion to two, Ham and Kush. He also notes the irony in the fact that Judaic sources first identified blacks as the heirs to the curse, another element of the legend absent in Genesis, since anti-Semitic Europeans would later exploit the myth as a convenient

brand to attach to Jews, declaring them also to be descendants of Ham. Later the general concept of the damned came also to be applied to other oppressed groups, such as the poor and unfree laborers of all races.

Van der Linde discusses the uncertainties concerning how the story of Noah first took shape from various strands of other religious mythologies from ancient Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome, as well as the Judaic and Christian traditions, and the variety of interpretations of what Noah symbolizes as history and prophesy. At various points the book also considers how some writers have tied the Noachian legend to the more general question of the origin of the main human racial groupings, with a special interest in the lineage of Europeans. Inclusion of so many minor, tangential themes results in insufficient attention being paid to many of the interesting questions raised. At the same time, duplicative discussion of some ideas in the chapters defined by region and those based on eras gives the book a certain redundancy which might have been avoided by a global chronological progression. For example, Luther's views are offered both in the section on the Reformation and in that on Germany and Switzerland. In a few places there are surprising leaps in chronology, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century at one point, only to return to the earlier period.

This work contains spirited, challenging commentary on a vast topic, but leaves many central questions still unanswered: Why is the curse attached to Canaan instead of Ham? Why are blacks tied to the curse? What accounts for differences in reaction in different parts of the world? Why was the curse, at least for Christians, not cancelled by the crucifixion of Christ? While the book contains brief summaries after each chapter, there is no concluding section at the end; so we do not know with certainty the author's thoughts on these questions. It is to be hoped that others will view Van der Linde's brief study as a timely reminder of the seriousness of this theme and will pursue it further.

REFERENCES

- BORST, ARNO, 1957-63. *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*. 4 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- LINDE, J.M. VAN DER, 1963. *Heren, slaven, broeders: Momenten uit de geschiedenis der slavernij*. Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- , 1987. *Jan Willem Kals 1700-1781. Leraar der Hervormden; Advocaat van indianen en neger*. Kampen: Kok.

Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean. EDNA ACOSTA-BELÉN & CHRISTINE E. BOSE (eds.). Boulder CO: Westview, 1993. x + 201 pp. (Paper US\$ 31.00)

Women & Change in the Caribbean: A Pan-Caribbean Perspective. JANET H. MOMSEN (ed.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle, 1993. x + 308 pp. (Paper US\$ 35.00)

HELEN I. SAFA
Center for Latin American Studies
University of Florida
Gainesville FL 32611, U.S.A.

Both of these edited volumes perform a valuable function in providing an overview of recent research on women in Latin America and the Caribbean. Janet Momsen's consists of case studies on women from a wide variety of Caribbean islands, often by European scholars relatively unfamiliar to U.S. readers. The volume edited by Edna Acosta-Belén and Christine Bose is more ambitious, since it aims at synthesizing research on women in various areas and disciplines to provide a state-of-the-art assessment of the field of women's studies in Latin America and the Caribbean. Both attest to the large body of excellent studies produced in recent years, much of it by Latin American and Caribbean scholars themselves. They demonstrate the shift of the field of women's studies away from merely erasing women's invisibility (in history, literature, and the social sciences) to documenting the importance of women as social actors in their own right. As a result of this process, Latin American and Caribbean women can no longer be seen as passive victims of external forces, from machismo to multinational corporations, but must be viewed as active agents speaking in their own voices and fighting for the survival of their families and their communities. The racial/ethnic, class, and regional variations in women's voices are an indication of the extent to which the women's movement has reached beyond the white middle-class feminists and has begun to encompass indigenous, black, and other poor women in Latin America and the Caribbean as well as women of color in the United States.

Several of the articles in the Acosta-Belén and Bose volume address this diversity in documenting the increasing importance of Latin American and Caribbean women's voices, particularly from the popular sectors, in areas such as testimonials and oral histories in anthropology (Lynn Stephen) and literature (Margarita Fernández Olmos), social movements (Norma Chinchilla), and women's research and action in the Commonwealth

Caribbean (A. Lynn Bolles). This is an important corrective to the tendency to essentialize women evident in some of the earlier literature. All of the contributors are recognized experts in their respective fields and perform an invaluable service in pulling together extensive bibliographies in their area, including publications by Latin American and Caribbean scholars, who may not be well known to scholars residing in the United States. Several of the authors have participated personally in the development of their subfields, and can give a first-hand account of changes in direction over the years. Thus, Elsa Chaney presents an extensive and highly readable personal account of the gradual recognition of the importance of women in the study of migration (still ignored by some authors – a neglect which is totally unwarranted given women's predominance in both internal and international migration in Latin America and the Caribbean). Lynn Stephens summarizes important changes in anthropology from the study of women to the study of the social construction of gender, including a brief critique of the current fascination with postmodernism.

Despite these advances, the field of women's studies in Latin America and the Caribbean still lacks a firm theoretical foundation grounded in an understanding of the sources of women's continued subordination. A part of the problem, as Stephens recognizes, resides in the continued focus on women rather than gender; a full comprehension of women's status can only be obtained through a comparison with men, whether one is studying labor force participation, politics, or migration. Depicting women as "the last colony," as Acosta-Belén and Bose do in their article, suffers from this bias, and singles out women as victims, borrowing from the critical theories of patriarchy of the German feminists Maria Mies, Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, and Claudia von Werlhof (1988). I would argue strongly against the latter's analogy between women and colonies, because the forms of subordination are very different, and the theory tends to essentialize women as "housewives" both in the Third World and in advanced industrialized countries. In addition, research on the "global feminization of labor," confirmed by my own work in the Hispanic Caribbean (Safa 1995), shows that the number of housewives worldwide is declining as growing numbers of women enter the labor force, but that the "myth of the male breadwinner" is preserved by public forms of patriarchy which erroneously define women as supplementary wage earners.

The Caribbean is an excellent area to analyze this hypothesis because of the long history of women's economic autonomy, especially in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The importance of women to family and community survival is well-documented in the Momsen volume, not only

in terms of women's economic contributions to the household income, but through the analysis of women's kin networks, neighborhood associations, and migration strategies. Though the contributors still disagree on the much debated matrifocal nature of the Caribbean family, the data provided in this volume suggest that it is precisely the strength of women's survival strategies and ties to children, kin, and neighbors that increases their importance in the family and marginalizes men. To view matrifocal families as deviant because they do not conform to the norm of the nuclear family is Eurocentric, particularly since there are good historical reasons for the strength of the mother-child bond in the Caribbean. In addition, the weakening of the male breadwinner role through massive unemployment, migration, and other factors is contributing to an increase in matrifocal families in most Caribbean societies, based on a high percentage of consensual unions and female heads of household.

Unfortunately, we have few historical studies like that of the young Cuban historian Alejandro de la Fuente (1995) or the excellent article by Eva Abraham-Van der Mark on the Sephardic merchant elite in Curaçao in the Momsen volume, that document the evolution of these marital patterns over time, and tie them to racial and class differences. We also need to understand why women's importance in the domestic domain is not translated into other levels of society, such as the workplace and the state, where elite men are still in control and the myth of the male breadwinner continues to prevail. As the articles by Rhoda Reddock, Kevin Yelvington, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Linda Peake demonstrate, the legitimacy that Caribbean women have earned in the private domain of the family does not extend to the public realm of unions, factories, or politics, suggesting that the private/public split is sharper in the region than some of the authors in this volume would accept. Even Jean Besson's analysis of Peter Wilson's theory of reputation and respectability as a male-female construct in the Anglophone Caribbean could be reinterpreted as a way of confining "respectable" women to the private domain, much as the *casa/calle* (house, street) distinction did in the Hispanic Caribbean.

We need more comparative studies that examine themes such as matri-focality or the private-public domain cross-culturally, particularly within the Caribbean, with its rich cultural diversity based on a common heritage of plantation slavery and colonialism. Unfortunately, the only article dealing fully with the Hispanic Caribbean in the Momsen volume is Jean Stubbs's excellent analysis of women and Cuban smallholder agriculture. Her data also appear to be the most up-to-date, since she includes some analysis of Cuban women in the "special period" after the economic

collapse in 1990, while most other studies in the volume date from the beginning of the 1980s or earlier. The fragmentary nature of scholarship on the Caribbean reflects the region's colonial and multilingual heritage, despite efforts by several academic associations, including women's research and action groups such as CAFRA (Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action) and WAND (Women and Development Unit of the University of the West Indies), to overcome these boundaries.

Much work remains to be done in women's studies in Latin America and the Caribbean in terms of more comparative research and stronger theoretical frameworks, but both books represent a step in the right direction.

REFERENCES

DE LA FUENTE, ALEJANDRO, 1995. Race and Inequality in Cuba, 1899-1981. *Journal of Contemporary History* 30:131-68.

MIES, MARIA, VERONIKA BENNHOLDT-THOMSEN & CLAUDIA VON WERLHOF, 1988. *Women: The Last Colony*. London: Zed Books.

SAFA, HELEN, I., 1995. *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Eugenia: The Caribbean's Iron Lady. JANET HIGBIE. London: Macmillan, 1993. 298 pp. (Paper £ 10.95)

PAGET HENRY
Sociology & Afro-American Studies
Brown University
Providence RI 02912, U.S.A.

Janet Higbie's book is a well-researched study of the life and politics of Dominica's three-term Prime Minister, Eugenia Charles. For the past two and a half decades, Charles has been a well-known figure in Caribbean politics. Not only is she the region's first female prime minister, her conservative positions and decisiveness in action have won her international recognition.

Higbie's study is divided into three parts: the first is biographical; the second focuses on Charles's path to the prime minister's office; and the third examines her record as prime minister. Drawing on extensive

interviews with family members, Higbie reconstructs Charles's early life. A daughter of the legendary J.B. Charles, Eugenia grew up in a solidly middle-class milieu typical of the Caribbean of the 1920s and 1930s. Higbie's account takes us inside this special family, and allows us to see not only the young Eugenia, but also the lifestyles of the Dominican middle class. This formative period includes Eugenia's experiences in high school, her undergraduate years at the University of Toronto, and her legal studies in London.

On her return to Dominica, the mature Charles began her law practice and made her first political forays by writing letters to the editor of the local newspaper. As in her portrait of the young Charles, Higbie's account of Charles the politician is richly described and well supported by interviews. The descriptions, clearly Higbie's strength, are excellent. However, the lack of equally strong evaluations of Charles's performance robs her concluding assessments of a firm punch.

Higbie carefully describes Charles's plunge into the rough waters of Dominican politics around the issue of press criticism of the government. Carried along by this tide of events, Charles moves through her political career. The press criticism issue leads to her decision to form a political party. This in turn leads to the party's involvement with the town council of the capital city, Roseau. Conflicts with the ruling government over the town council drives the party to expand. These expansions were furthered by the next elections, and the conflicts they generated. Charles loses two successive election. Finally in 1980, she comes to power after the bizarre machinations of Patrick John result in the destruction of his ruling party.

Without comment or criticism Higbie describes almost photographically this conflict-driven aspect of Dominican politics. However, by not commenting on it, Higbie is unable to point to the lack of vision or clear program that this type of politics conceals or necessitates. Higbie hints at such an evaluation when she refers to Singham's notion of "the hero and the crowd." But she applies it to other Caribbean political figures and not to Charles. Yet her wonderful accounts of Charles's heroic and *macha* posturings before the crowd places her squarely in this tradition. Charles's opposition to Dominica's independence is a clear example of how this type of heroic politics can make a football out of important issues.

Higbie's account of Charles's years in office reveals this same pattern of heroic shadow-boxing before the crowd as Dominica's economy slides into deeper trouble. Without comment, Higbie's rich descriptions reveal the limits of this type of statecraft. It is unable to implement an effective strategy for development. Thus Charles's economic performance makes a very poor showing next to her political dramas.

In providing these photographic accounts of the heroic aspects of Dominican politics, Higbie performs a great service. They make it clear that the time for heroic politics has passed and needs to be replaced by a politics in which the implementing of effective development programs is the basis upon which governments are elected. This implicit critique points to the power, depth, and accuracy of the description contained in this very charming book.

Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery 1670-1834. MOIRA FERGUSON. New York: Routledge, 1992. xii + 465 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00, Paper US\$ 19.95)

KATHLEEN E. MCLUSKIE
Pro Vice-Chancellor
University of Kent
Canterbury, Kent CT2 7NZ, England

During the parliamentary campaign against the slave trade a pro-slavery lobbyist suggested that changing the term "slave" to "assistant planter" would silence "violent outcries against the slave trade by pious divines, tender hearted poetesses and short sighted politicians." This cynical trivializing of the opposition to slavery indicates nonetheless both the importance of discourse and its range in the struggle over the ending of the slave trade and the emancipation of colonial slaves. By focusing on the contributions to this struggle made by British women writers over a century and a half, Moira Ferguson is able to explore the contradictions and the tensions which existed between the discursive constructions of femininity and the objectification of African slaves.

Ferguson's narrative takes her from Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, the romantic story of heroic resistance by an African prince, to the publication in 1834 of *The Bow in the Cloud*, a 400-page anthology of anti-slavery verse and prose. The difference between the two publications indicates the changing historical circumstances in which they were produced. Aphra Behn's narrative uses slavery as an exotic setting for romance which deplores the enslavement of a noble individual but leaves the institution unchallenged; *The Bow in the Cloud* was a collective endeavor, initiated by a member of a provincial women's anti-slavery society, its contributions steering a careful line between political activism and spiritual uplift. However, as Ferguson's densely argued account shows, those

differences cannot be traced through a linear historical progression. Nor are they simply related to gender; for at every stage women's writing was enmeshed in literary traditions, discursive conventions, and the complexities of gender and national politics. *Oroonoko* can be read as protest against the civil enslavement of women in marriage, the author's personal revenge for her supposed maltreatment during her stay in Suriname, or an allegory of the treacherous overthrow of the Stuart kings. By contrast Behn's eulogy for the duke of Albermarle "on his Voyage to his Government of Jamaica" uses the same imperialist Roman imagery that had celebrated Oroonoko's superiority to emphasize the duke's right to rule over both the African slaves and the barbarously debased plantocracy.

A similar complexity is applied to Ferguson's reading of later women writers for whom slavery became a locus for articulating sentiments about love and motherhood as well as the spiritual autonomy of individual souls. Full attention is given to the variety of individual writers from the Quaker missionaries Alice Curwen, Elizabeth Hooton, and Joan Vokins to the more opportunist and sensationalist writing of the actress Charlotte Charke, but every writer is placed in the developing history of women's writing in which sentiment, spirituality, and femininity converge. Throughout, the narrative is particularly sensitive to the way that writers always spoke on behalf of slaves seen as generalized and exoticized victims, the objects of sympathy rather than the subjects of resistance. However, within the deep structures of these sentimental narratives, Ferguson persuasively identifies both the appeal of feeling and the echo of women's hidden desires.

Women were, of course, the most appropriate writers to represent slavery. Like the slaves themselves, they were objectified and emblemized in poses which could be placed across a spectrum from idealization to vilification. They could be sanctified as mothers but barbarous in defense of their children; pitied as forsaken mistresses, and the object of a gaze both scandalized and lascivious when their bodies were subjected to violent and sexual abuse. They were also often accompanied by their grotesque mirror image, the debased plantocrat wife, deadlier than the male, "at once the Scythian and the Sybarite." However, in the very act of creating these images, the women writers denied them. Without laboring the point, Ferguson's narrative shows them engaging with religious as much as sexual politics, sharing affiliation and polemic with their male and international contemporaries and, above all, adapting the stereotypes which enclosed them to represent a more complex view of themselves through narratives of escape and resistance.

In all this self reflexivity the conditions and particular circumstances of

slaves themselves too often remained unexplored. The creation of slavery as an exotic location and a sentimental fantasy made impossible any engagement with the diverse humanity or the cultural specificity of slaves and their communities. The fate of the conceptualized "other" was always to be generalized and representative. Ferguson is, on the whole, intolerant of what she characterizes as the writers' orthodox timidity – a refusal to be bolder in making common cause with resistance, a willful ignorance of the true nature of slave communities, and especially an assumption of the right to speak on slaves' behalf. Even when confronted with the extraordinarily brave and exceptional men and women who wrote from within slavery or forced the test cases which advanced the legal establishment of emancipatory principles, the women writers seemed content to assimilate them to the familiar romantic or providential or sentimental paradigms. However, Ferguson's impatience is sometimes misplaced. It assumes that there is an authentic truth beyond discourse which will reveal to us now the full historical complexity of colonial slavery.

Fortunately, her analysis is often more subtle, particularly in her final account of the story of Mary Prince, a text well known to her and now to others from her Pandora edition of 1985. This account acknowledges the layers of textuality which generate as much as they disguise the authenticity of Mary Prince's narrative. Using psychoanalytic and discourse theory as well as the original textual history of the narrative, Ferguson shows how the illiterate slave woman could only deliver her tale as one of "a consensual body of information and formulae." This may be unsatisfactory for those readers seeking either the political fantasy of a coherence of gender and racial politics or the essentialism of the oppressed woman's voice. What Ferguson's book shows is that the history of women's writing and the representation of slavery were linked both by and in their histories.

Género, trabajo y etnia en los bateyes dominicanos. SENaida JANSEN & CECILIA MILLÁN. Santo Domingo: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, Programa de Estudios de la Mujer, 1991. 195 pp. (Paper n.p.)

SAMUEL MARTÍNEZ
5061 S. Catherine St. #4
Plattsburgh NY 12901, U.S.A.

Novelists, poets, journalists, and academicians have given just emphasis to the poverty and brutality experienced by sugar cane workers in the company compounds (*bateyes*) of the Dominican Republic. Much less attention has been given to the ways *batey* dwellers survive from day to day, year to year, and generation to generation. We know little about how they raise families in an environment built to accommodate only the men and oxen needed to harvest the company's sugar cane. It is surely more than coincidental that, in the vast majority of accounts of life in the *bateyes*, even those by creative writers, women are invisible or seldom emerge from under the shadow of men. If we knew more about women's ways of coping with poverty and economic uncertainty, we might understand better the challenges that face *batey* residents as they try to make their surroundings more livable.

In spite of how little we know, certain ideas about *batey* women are "common knowledge" in the Dominican Republic. Based on the fact that the sugar companies hire very few women to work on the estates, some Dominicans assume that a woman's only reason to be in a *batey* is to satisfy the sexual urges of men, as a wife or a prostitute. A similar stereotype has it that the *batey* woman "pairs up with a new man each harvest season," or is in any case almost totally dependent on her partner for support. She is thus seen either as a victim of poverty and economic dependence or, less benignly, as a mercenary or predator, ready to abandon her man for another as soon as he falls on hard times.

Against this background of scholarly neglect and popular stereotyping, any study that promises a closer look at these women's lives should be eagerly greeted by students of labor on the sugar estates. *Género, trabajo y etnia* is such a work. The book falls short of its authors' largest goal, which is to describe and explain from a feminist perspective how women contribute to the production of surplus value and the reproduction of labor on the sugar estates. In particular, Jansen and Millán fail to formulate a vision of the history and social structure of the sugar industry to match their wide-ranging empirical findings. Also, even though the book's title

mentions it, ethnicity generally seems to be taken up almost as an afterthought. The more one reads, the further comparisons between women of different ethnic backgrounds recede into the background. Even so, the authors' efforts to correct misconceptions about the life circumstances of women on the sugar estates should interest not only students of *batey* social organization but others interested in gender in rural proletarian communities.

The book is based on a socio-economic survey of 120 women in six *bateyes*, and in-depth life history interviews with twenty of the survey respondents. Interregional and rural-urban comparisons are built into the study. The researchers conducted interviews on two estates, in differing regions of the country – Consuelo, in the southeast, and Barahona, in the southwest. On each estate, interviews were done in three categories of *batey*, which correspond to the three-tiered hierarchy of settlements – ranging from small, isolated field *bateyes* to the urbanized mill towns – around which sugar production is spatially organized.

The text is studded with 77 tables, and 39 more tables are added as an appendix. Many will regard such a proliferation of tables as altogether too much of a good thing. Indeed, the book often reads like a dry recitation of survey results. At many crucial points in the presentation of the study's findings, the text does little more than point out and explain data in the tables. Also, even from a purely quantitative perspective, better use could have been made of the data. Rather than correlating variables, the tables too often present their material as simple percentages. And, especially in the crucial chapter on women's work, Jansen and Millán almost completely neglect the interregional and rural-urban comparisons which their introductory remarks correctly identify as an important distinguishing feature of the study.

The book may therefore disappoint those who hope to find poignant accounts of women coping (or failing to cope) with difficult life circumstances. In this regard, it is particularly regrettable that the authors chose to present women's life history testimony in a chapter of its own near the end of the book, rather than integrating it with the survey data. This isolates the life history testimony from the quantitative data which might lend it significance, and into which it might in turn breathe life. The life history chapter itself largely fails to enrich our image of *batey* women's lives. Rather than presenting histories in synopsis, or letting the women's own words tell their stories, Jansen and Millán include only brief quotes from the women, and organize these according to themes of the authors' choosing. They thus get the worst of both worlds out of the life histories. They achieve none of the drama which personal or household case histo-

ries can evoke, and skeptical readers will feel unsure whether the testimony selected reflects anything other than the authors' preconceptions.

That said, *Género, trabajo y etnia* offers the patient reader evidence to reconsider the prevailing wisdom about women's roles on the sugar estates. Several of Jansen and Millán's findings suggest that women in the *bateyes* are less dependent on men than previous studies would indicate. For example, the rate of paid employment among *batey* women (71.6 percent) they find is much higher than in any previous study (p. 100 – compare this to the rate of female economic activity of 16.4 percent found by Moya Pons *et al.* [1986:443]!). Further, Jansen and Millán indicate that this high rate of female economic activity is not a response to the economic crisis of the 1980s, but a pattern which has characterized their respondents for many years. Similar surprises lie in store concerning household organization. Thirty-eight percent of the women identified themselves as heads of household. This is almost double the prevailing national rate, and contradicts the idea that *batey* women generally depend on men for sustenance and housing (p. 61). Contrary to the perception that *batey* conjugal unions are particularly unstable, Jansen and Millán found little difference in marital stability between their sample and the Dominican national average (p. 57). Their treatment of the theme of prostitution (pp. 116-19) is also an advance over earlier studies, which either ignore prostitution or mention it only in passing. While acknowledging the incapacity of their survey to gauge the prevalence of prostitution, Jansen and Millán discuss the issue frankly. My own ethnographic fieldwork on a sugar plantation in the southeast suggests they are correct in surmising that most *batey* women are not employed in sex work.

In summary, *Género, trabajo y etnia* deserves the attention of students of gender in plantation societies. The full significance of the book for the study of *batey* social organization may only emerge as it leads future fieldworkers to formulate new questions and interpretations. It is to be hoped that social researchers will emulate Jansen and Millán by expanding their analysis of the Dominican sugar industry to include more thorough consideration of the situation and activities of women.

REFERENCE

MOYA PONS, FRANK *et al.*, 1986. *El batey: Estudio socioeconómico de los bateyes del Consejo Estatal del Azúcar*. Santo Domingo: Fondo para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales.

Movimiento obrero y lucha socialista en la República Dominicana (desde los orígenes hasta 1960). ROBERTO CASSÁ. Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1990. 620 pp. (Paper n.p.)

MICHIEL BAUD
Department of History
Erasmus University
3000 DR Rotterdam, The Netherlands

Roberto Cassá is one of the most prolific historians of the Dominican Republic. He is also one of the few Dominican historians to have done intensive archival research. After *Capitalismo y dictadura* (1982), on social and economic development during the Trujillo dictatorship (1930-61), and *Los doce años* (1986), on the twelve-years reign of Joaquín Balaguer (1966-78), he now presents the results of a new research project. As the title indicates, this one treats two related, but in practice quite distinctive, themes. Indeed, we might consider it two, chronologically and thematically interwoven, books. One treats the emergence of a Dominican labor movement; the other tries to come to grips with the complicated and often contradictory history of left-wing intellectualism in the Dominican Republic during an extremely difficult period of totalitarianism and repression.

Compared to Cuba and Puerto Rico, the Dominican economy developed late. The first large-scale sugar plantations were established in the last decades of the nineteenth century and other industrial activity remained restricted to small factories. No wonder that a labor movement did not start to develop until the twentieth century and that it had a distinctively artisanal character. The first *gremios* were organized by bakers, shoemakers, and cigar-makers. They were normally established to organize mutual support and to obtain better conditions on the market. Only on the sugar plantations, which were mostly U.S. owned until they were taken over by Trujillo in the 1940s, did something like a proletariat come into existence. The workforce on the plantations consisted of Dominican as well as migrant laborers – British West Indians and, above all, Haitians. This situation hampered the growth of a united front of sugar workers. Dominican labor tried to maintain a privileged position and the Dominican labor movement started out as decidedly anti-migrant, always complaining about the false competition of cheap migrant labor, often with racist arguments. It took until 1946 before a union of sugar workers was established, the *Gremio de Jornaleros*, which also tried to incorporate Haitian laborers.

Just after the Second World War the Trujillo dictatorship gave the labor

movement somewhat more freedom. This policy was meant to show foreign observers his democratic inclinations. At the same time Trujillo wanted in this way to put pressure on the U.S. government, showing that the profitability and safety of the U.S.-owned sugar plantations depended on his goodwill. In 1946, the country, and especially the sugar producing regions, experienced massive labor actions, which Cassá describes in great detail. In the capital Santo Domingo, the political agitation led on October 26 to *la noche roja*, when the movement reached both its apex and, in hindsight, its demise. The tragedy of this "interlude of tolerance," as the Dominican historian Bernardo Vega has called it, was that it ended as abruptly as it had started, leaving many labor leaders dead, "missing," or exiled. Reading Cassá's account of the relentless organizational work of these leaders, the present-day reader cannot but be amazed by the image of courage, energy, and naivety they represent. It also demonstrates how the Trujillo dictatorship suffocated the social and political processes within the country – a suffocation from which it still has not entirely recovered.

The second "book" Cassá presents is about the intellectual history of the Dominican left. Confronted with Trujillo's conservative nationalist project, they were forced to formulate an alternative. This was not an easy task in a political climate which was vehemently hostile to dissent and severely punished opposition. Many intellectuals who had originally opposed Trujillo were forced to become his collaborators in the later years of the dictatorship. Those who sat tight had to move with extreme caution. In addition, they often had no answer to the complicated socio-economic and political situation of the twentieth-century Dominican Republic. Cassá sensitively analyzes the ambiguity of left-wing intellectuals who tried to find a balance between their (often Marxist influenced) social analysis, and an obstinate reality which hardly offered space for its implementation. Cassá's analysis of the work of important intellectuals such as Enrique Jiménez, Juan Bosch, and Juan Jimenes Grullón is an important and original contribution to Dominican historiography which has focused on the much more easily accessible work of Trujillo's conservative supporters, such as Joaquín Balaguer and Manuel Arturo Peña Battle. Cassá normally maintains a well-balanced scholarly distance from a political history in which he himself also played his role. In some instances his preference for a more orthodox Marxist analysis of Dominican society gets the upper hand and he tends to slightly undervalue the more moderate left. More specifically, I think his analysis of the role of Juan Bosch – which can certainly be criticized – is unjustifiedly harsh.

Cassá's book contains too much information to sum up here. Because of its scrupulous use of sources and interviews, it is a goldmine for twen-

tieth-century Dominican history. Apart from some points of interpretation which are open to debate, my only criticism of the book concerns its presentation. Its six-hundred pages are divided in chapters and sub-chapters that tell the reader little about their contents. It is difficult to find specific information in the book. I realize that it is difficult to get scholarly books published in the Dominican Republic; in this sense, we can only congratulate the author and the Fundación Cultural Dominicana. On the other hand, it is my conviction that everything should be done to make academic research accessible. This is especially important because Cassá's book will be used by scholars with widely different interests. The book would certainly have benefited from a little editing, and it definitely needs an index. Goldmines are worth very little unless we can get inside them!

REFERENCES

CASSÁ, ROBERTO, 1982. *Capitalismo y dictadura*. Santo Domingo: UASD.

—, 1986. *Los doce años*. Santo Domingo: Alfa y Omega.

Haiti's Bad Press. ROBERT LAWLESS. Rochester VT: Schenkman Press, 1992. xxvii + 261 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.95)

PAUL FARMER
Department of Social Medicine
Harvard Medical School
Boston MA 02115, U.S.A.

Sidney Mintz, who has worked throughout the Caribbean, once observed: "If ever there were a society that ought to have ended up totally annihilated, materially and spiritually, by the trials of 'modernization,' it is Haiti." Born of a slave revolt that began in 1791, Haiti became the first independent republic in all of Latin America. The Haitian revolution also marked the first and only time that an enslaved people was able to use military force to defeat its oppressors – and those oppressors were the epoch's leading imperial powers.

Since that time, Haiti has had a major public-relations problem. The new nation found itself confronting a world deeply opposed to democratic ideals, an island of freed slaves surrounded by slave-owning polities. As a result of this heritage, Haiti has always struggled with the racism that the European slave trade sparked and which, more recently, U.S. domination

has helped to fan.

But there is more to the story. Students of Haitian history and culture quickly discern a series of myths and distortions regarding all aspects – political, religious, economic, even medical – of Haitian life. These biases are especially obvious in outsiders' commentary on Haiti. Most Haitians are well aware of these distortions, which have been peculiarly influential over time. But never before has someone painstakingly delineated the outlines of these biases and chronicled their history. We are thus deeply indebted to Robert Lawless, an anthropologist teaching at Wichita State University, for his magisterial study, *Haiti's Bad Press*.

As Lawless notes, it is impossible to understand biases against Haiti and Haitians without the racism that has so clearly colored outside commentary on Haiti. "The intensity and depth of racist feelings associated with Haiti surpass most types of ordinary ethnocentrism," he notes (p. 63). "And this racism is certainly not limited to Euroamerican whites or to the distant past."

But Lawless discerns, in addition to garden-variety racism, a series of deeper structures. He writes of the "folk models" that have served as templates, sculpting the contours of over two centuries of popular commentary about Haiti. The first of the book's six chapters reviews these folk models, including examination of U.S. popular and professional commentary on both Haitian "boat people" and the oft-cited (but fundamentally erroneous) association between Haitians and AIDS. There is also an overview of other, more "exotic" symbolic networks important in framing how North Americans see and speak and write about Haiti and Haitians. Myths about zombies and cannibalism, we learn, are very much alive.

Chapter 2 explores the origins of these biases, digging deep into the colonial period. Lawless shows that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – the era of slave plantations – constitute a determinant period. Many of the biases that plague Haitians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have their roots in European models of "Darkest Africa." The development of these biases are traced in the subsequent chapter, which mines a rich vein of slander, a veritable literature of opprobrium. During the nineteenth century, scathing and openly racist attacks on Haiti were bestsellers in England, France, and the United States. Lawless shows that from Haitian independence in 1804 to the current decade, a small number of error-ridden works have shaped much popular commentary on Haiti. This section of *Haiti's Bad Press* offers close textual analysis of several of these key texts. The fourth and fifth chapters focus on relations between Haiti and two of its interlocutors, France and the United States. Lawless reserves some of his harshest commentary for the French language and for

Roman Catholicism, which he regards as responsible for much of the cultural sabotage of Haitian popular culture, which includes both Creole and voodoo.

Particularly significant, in the context of the current world order, are Haiti's – and Haitians' – relations with its giant neighbor to the north. Chapter 5 offers unstinting criticism U.S. foreign aid to Haiti, U.S. immigration policy toward Haitians, and U.S. foreign policy in general. What is lacking here, I think, is a sense of how policy toward Haiti, centered around the support of anti-communist dictators, was in most senses in keeping with U.S. foreign policy throughout the region. There is little detail about U.S. support for the military, which included training of an entire generation of Duvalierist soldiers, and a tendency to see François Duvalier as a legitimately-elected leader somehow slighted by North American racism. Although this was certainly Papa Doc's claim, the only people really slighted were the poor majority.

The final chapter examines the current conjuncture. As *Haiti's Bad Press* went to press, the country's first democratically elected government had just been overthrown by the very officers the United States had helped to train. In some senses, this chapter is the weakest, in part because the story was unfolding as the book was completed, but in part because Lawless may have relied excessively, for readings of this struggle, on his Haitian academic colleagues. The voices of the oppressed poor themselves are infrequently heard in these pages, in spite of the author's sympathy for the Haitian people.

This choice of informants does have costs. During the nineteenth century, the voices most frequently raised against white racism tended to be those of Haitian intellectuals. But Haiti has its own internal struggles and contradictions. It is clear that some distortions about Haiti, even the most racist ones, were promulgated by the angst-ridden intellectuals who were, of course, part of the Haitian ruling class.

Haiti's Bad Press is an important adjunct to efforts to decode the current crisis. As Lawless shows, the idea that Haitians (variously termed, "Africans," "rebellious slaves," "negroes," "blacks," etc.) are incapable of self-government has been a central theme in Haiti's bad press over the centuries. It stands to follow, then, that the embodiment of the contrary view – that Haitians can, in fact, choose their own form of government – will be viewed darkly by Haitian and American elites, by the popular press, and by other purveyors of the folk models described in this book.

And Lawless's thesis has since been proven correct. When the country's first popularly elected government was overthrown by a military coup, Haiti was again on the front pages of all North America's major

dailies. Many of the articles spoke of human rights abuses – but who, precisely, was abusing whom?

During democratically-elected president Aristide's seven months in office, Amnesty International documented 26 violations – the majority of these committed by the anti-Aristide army. Boston Media Action, citing the Haitian Platform for Human Rights, recently reported "1867 executions, 5096 illegal and arbitrary arrests, and 2171 cases of beatings and shootings under the coup government." Thus, the coup government presided over 99.8 percent of documented human rights abuses, while the Aristide government presided over 0.2 percent of them.

But a very different picture has often been painted in the U.S. media. Boston Media Action analyzed 415 articles on Haiti taken from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Miami Herald*, and the *Boston Globe*: "For the period from September 30 to October 14, 1991," this study concludes, "the papers we studied devote 60% of all paragraphs on human rights abuses to Aristide, and 40% to the coup government."

It is to precisely these predictable conclusions that Robert Lawless's work speaks. A critique of the facile and superficial, *Haiti's Bad Press* is also a troubling case study of the means by which elite bias comes to have its effects among the dis-empowered. *Haiti's Bad Press* should be warmly recommended, not only to students, but also to the general reader who might be interested in this process.

Global Culture, Island Identity: Continuity and Change in the Afro-Caribbean Community of Nevis. KAREN FOG OLWIG. Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993. xi + 239 pp. (Cloth US\$ 54.00)

BILL MAURER
Department of Anthropology
Stanford University
Stanford CA 94305-2145, U.S.A.

This important book sheds light on the interplay of hierarchy and equality, the local and the global, and the Caribbean and the European in the cultural history of Nevis. In addition to bringing recent theoretical concerns with transnationalism and identity to Caribbean studies, Karen Olwig directs Caribbean ethnology away from static conceptions of kinship and household, religion and social life, and African cultural retentions, and toward an integration of kinship, gender, religion, and

culture in terms of shifting notions of inequality in colonial and post-colonial societies. The result is a very significant argument about the embeddedness of European cultural forms in the Caribbean and their transformation by Caribbean peoples over four centuries.

The book contains eight chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion, and is divided into three sections. Each section is about a particular historical moment, from an early modern hierarchical social order, to a modern reordering of the world along liberal lines, finally to a postmodern fragmentation and redefinition of home and community. The first section, "English Patriarchy, African Bondage," argues that early Caribbean colonial society drew from late medieval and early modern English hierarchical social orderings. Seventeenth-century English in the Caribbean incorporated African slaves into a patriarchal model of farm and home life. Under hierarchical principles, slaves like servants occupied an established social position as inferior persons, but as *persons* nonetheless. Olwig maintains that the English patriarchal hierarchy resonated with hierarchical principles underlying societies from which Africans had been taken, and so made "sense," at some level, to the enslaved.

Part 2, "In Pursuit of Respectability," details the radical restructuring of patriarchal hierarchy, as eighteenth-century colonial production shifted from yeoman farming to industrial-style plantations, and the hierarchical world gave way to notions of equality. But this liberal "egalitarian" ordering was open only to those free men who observed new confines of propriety. Those who could not – women, children, slaves, the insane – fell out of the egalitarian system, becoming "less" than human. This had consequences for a new racism: "while the colonizer tended to regard the early African slaves' cultural practices with a mixture of incredulity and curiosity, the later slave culture became increasingly condemned as immoral and animal-like" (p. 7).

Slaves responded to these hierarchical and egalitarian orderings by valuing "sociability" on the one hand and "respectability" on the other. The inclusion of slaves in a hierarchical order demanded "sociable" relations with others, the extension of mutual ties of obligation and support inherent in a hierarchical system (similar to Peter Wilson's "reputation" except that Olwig documents its English dimension). Olwig argues that just as the hierarchical order was eroding under new forms of plantation organization, Caribbean slaves forged solidarities to counter the situation of social death they experienced as unfree persons; these resembled earlier English hierarchical modes of obligation and hierarchical social interaction. Slaves were thus able to express new cultures through a hierarchical "English" form. Later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, people were considered free and equal only insofar as they could clearly demonstrate their rational and Godly living through legal marriages, the work ethic, property ownership, and "'decent and correct' manners and morals" (George Mosse, quoted on p. 69). Free people of color adopted "respectability" immediately before emancipation as they sought to differentiate themselves from the mass of the unfree. After emancipation the culture of respectability "came to underwrite the new colonial order," as the ranks of the respectable middle classes of color swelled and as colonial infrastructure increasingly depended on local lackeys (p. 13). Respectability relied on educational and religious institutions which taught upright and independent living, not such sociable institutions as rum-drinking and incurring debts and obligations. *Methodism uniquely suited the needs of the emerging respectable classes*, for it provided access to leadership positions for poor people and became an important route to respectability and visibility in the new social order.

Olgwig argues that the twin values of sociability and respectability have played off each other at least since emancipation, and have shaped the character of decolonization, state formation, and twentieth-century migrations. This is the subject of Part 3, "Home Is Where You Leave It: Paradoxes of Identity." Political self-determination brought the contradiction between sociability and respectability to a head. The liberal state is founded on and demands respectability, but economic conditions make respectability difficult to achieve and maintain. Olgwig suggests that emigration resolves this contradiction because through inclusive (hierarchical) often kin-based ties of sociability and obligation, emigrants send remittances "home" and enable family and friends to achieve and display (egalitarian) respectability without appearing to have achieved it at their neighbor's expense (p. 173).

Emigration calls into question the very notion of "home," for Nevisians have reoriented their notions of household toward the global community that sustains it. Consumption of Western luxury goods allows display of respectable living even as people obtain these goods by ties of sociability. Olgwig connects the emphasis on display to the reification of "culture" as a commodity in efforts to produce a "national" culture. The final chapters of the book examine new cultural practices in the United States and England through which Nevisians show off their "West Indian" way of life to a global audience. These cultural forms – family reunions, "cultural" celebrations, and expressions of national culture – are precisely the kinds of "culture" recognized by the West, and so Nevisians once again express their "locally generated cultural forms within a foreign medium" (p. 153). For Olgwig, however, expressing local difference through global community

may well provide room for maneuver in a world "where Western concepts of equality leave little room for the recognition of other ways of thinking and acting" (p. 208).

Trinidad Ethnicity. KEVIN A. YELVINGTON (ed.). Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993. vii + 296 pp. (Cloth US\$ 31.95)

VIRANJINI MUNASINGHE
Institute for the Arts and Humanities
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill NC 27599-3322, U.S.A.

Caribbean people's ability to maintain multiplicity challenges neat analytic compartmentalization. The multidisciplinary nature of this book promises not only to capture the complexity of ethnicity in one of the most economically developed and ethnically heterogeneous societies of the Caribbean, but also to lend new insights. *Trinidad Ethnicity* is organized well; the introductory historical articles addressing social and racial stratification in colonial Trinidad provide a solid basis for subsequent discussions on how ethnicity permeates the economic, political, and cultural life of contemporary Trinidad. Yelvington has skillfully enabled a structured engagement to emerge from the individual pieces without compromising the diverse perspectives of the contributors.

There is a problematic tendency in the literature dealing with Indo- and Afro-Caribbean relations to conflate the terms race and ethnicity, and this book is no exception. Terminological slippage can indicate a failure to articulate cogently the relations between abstract theoretical concepts, but sometimes it can also reflect local complexities and idiosyncrasies. In Trinidad, and the Caribbean at large, it is common to refer to people of African descent as a race and to those of East Indian descent as an ethnic group. This difference in terminology is in part due to the way Trinidad's diverse population has been historically imaged. Since this collection engages the discourses on race and ethnicity, the diverse nuances of the terms and their inter-relation should have been explored along with more prudent application of the terms.

The articles vary in analytical rigor. Some contributors rise to the challenge of countering conventional wisdoms while others merely reproduce them – namely, in the form of the plural society model. Indeed, three of the articles (those by Ralph M. Henry, Colin Clarke, and Ralph

Premdas) are premised on this model. Henry examines how changes in income inequality among ethnic groups have been affected by institutional factors – such as “gate-keeping” and discrimination – that are endemic to plural societies. Some might, however, take issue with his assumption that the post-colonial state operates on the basis of universalistic criteria. It is precisely such a claim that Premdas undermines in his study of Trinidad’s post-colonial political institutions. He argues that ethnic domination is inevitable in plural societies only in conjunction with political institutions that encourage a zero-sum competitive game such as the one Trinidad inherited from Britain. Premdas evaluates Trinidad’s brief experiment with a multi-ethnic party (1986-91) on the basis of Arend Lijphart’s consociational model, which allows for the sharing of power.

Clarke’s conclusion that there is a correlation between changing racial patterns of residence and incidence of intermarriage between Creoles (Afro-Trinidadians) and East Indians between 1960 and 1980 enhances the model of social pluralism. The overall trend in the post-colonial period, he argues, has been toward greater segregation and the maintenance of racial endogamy. Yet the increasing rate of intermarriage between Christian Indians and Creoles in San Fernando suggests that boundaries between ethnic groups may be less rigid than the plural model posits.

A fundamental weakness of the pluralist perspective is the tendency to emphasize group discreteness and underplay instances of overlap. This is partly true even of Bridget Brereton’s otherwise insightful analysis of social organization in the post-abolition period, which readily acknowledges the blurring of boundaries among non-East Indian groups within the classic three-tiered social structure, but confines East Indians to an exclusive fourth tier.

In contrast, the pieces by Daniel A. Segal, Aisha Khan, Neils M. Sampath, James Houk, Patrick Taylor, and Keith Q. Warner prove more exciting because each in its own way captures a fundamental tension characterizing Trinidadian society, which stems from the simultaneous emphasis on unity (in the form of a “mixed” national identity) and difference. This perspective prompts these scholars to investigate those “murky” areas through concepts such as “mixing,” “ambiguity,” “creolization,” and “cultural syncretism.” Khan’s analysis of the category “Spanish” goes beyond the conventional understanding of “mixed” categories as denoting degrees of black and white mixture. Since the boundary and culture content of “Spanish” are negotiable, Khan explores how ambiguity can both fortify and attenuate systems of social stratification while simultaneously revealing the power relations upon which they rest. She demonstrates beautifully how meaning is created on a

contingent basis at each and every moment of boundary negotiation.

Segal's brilliant semantic analysis of "race" and "color" in pre-independent Trinidad is truly path-breaking. He shows how the configuration of race encodes not only the notion of "pure races" but also their subsequent "mixing." The idiom of race, therefore, entertains notions of both "purity" and "mixture," which are in turn represented in the color spectrum. He makes the fascinating argument that mixing between East Indians and other ancestral types was ideologically erased, causing their exclusion from the color spectrum and the paucity of lexical terms symbolizing East Indian mixing. Culturally too, East Indians were respected as "unmixables" since they were imaged as people saturated with an ancient civilization, unlike those of African descent who were imaged as culturally void. Given that mixing also encodes native status in the West Indies, as the term "creole" denotes, the notion of East Indians as "unmixables" provides a powerful ideological explanation as to why East Indians are continuously portrayed as "outsiders." Segal, however, cautions that ideological representations rarely mirror practice and that they belie the extent of cultural and genealogical mixing East Indians are experiencing.

Instances of such cultural mixing are provided by Sampath and Houk. Sampath's article on the creolization of East Indian youth and Houk's analysis of the Africanization of the Orisha religion as a reaction to the encroachment of East Indian elements illustrate how ethnic identity is negotiated at those junctures where diverse cultural strains interconnect. The articles by Taylor and Warner explore the articulation of ethnic and national identities in popular culture, such as literature and calypso.

Trinidad Ethnicity is a refreshing addition to the literature on race and ethnicity in the Caribbean, and Trinidad in particular. Some of the articles are especially provocative and provide new lenses for understanding ethnic heterogeneity.

Salt-Water Trinnies: Afro-Trinidadian Immigrant Networks and Non-Assimilation in Los Angeles. CHRISTINE HO. New York: AMS Press, 1991. xvi + 237 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50)

KEVIN K. BIRTH
Department of Anthropology
Queens College, City University of New York
Flushing NY 11367, U.S.A.

This book contributes to our understanding of West Indians living in North America – particularly those outside of the major Caribbean communities in the United States. It focuses on three issues: the reasoning behind choice of destination for both secondary and primary immigrants, the ways in which they construct social relationships where they settle, and the manner in which they maintain social relationships over large distances.

Ho's ethnography is intended to challenge cultural assimilation theories of immigration which represent immigrants as gradually blending into the culture of the host country, and structural assimilation theories which predict the integration of immigrant groups into the organizations and institutions of the host society. The dominant metaphor of all assimilation theories is the "melting pot" – a cauldron of different peoples in which all contribute, but eventually lose their distinctive identity.

Ho describes how several factors, such as immigration policy and the differences between the political economy and social structure of the Caribbean and the United States, have served to limit the immigrant population in particular ways. Since 1965 American immigration policy has both influenced the occupational diversity of immigrant populations and emphasized family unification as grounds for granting visas. In addition, Ho argues that the political economy and social structure of Caribbean societies has encouraged individuals experiencing obstacles imposed by race and class to move to the United States. Consequently, Afro-Trinidadian migration to the United States is characterized by extended family networks, and the pursuit of economic opportunities.

Ho chooses as her focus Afro-Trinidadians in Los Angeles, and concentrates on the informal social networks generated and maintained by individual immigrants. Unlike many of the other major North American cities in which Afro-Trinidadian immigrants have settled, the Trinidadian population in Los Angeles is small and geographically scattered.

With regard to these immigrants, Ho explores the manner in which individuals migrated to the United States and adapted to their new home.

Commonly, Afro-Trinidadians came to the United States through a process of chain migration of relatives. Many first arrived in one of the larger West Indian communities such as New York, and then moved to Los Angeles. About one third of Ho's sample said that Los Angeles was their primary destination.

Among Afro-Trinidadians in Los Angeles, there are several bases for association with other Angelenos. Two of the most important, not surprisingly, are kinship and marriage. Afro-Trinidadians tend to marry other Afro-Trinidadians, or at least other West Indians. For many, important associations are based on consanguinal and affinal ties. Second in importance are friends, who are also primarily Afro-Trinidadians. Since Afro-Trinidadians have not settled in dense concentrations in Los Angeles, both friend-based and kin-based ties tend to span great distances in the city.

Likewise, the Afro-Trinidadians in Los Angeles maintain trans-continental and transnational ties through telephone contacts, occasional letter-writing, and periodic visits. All of Ho's informants visit Trinidad periodically. These visits are seen as important mechanisms in maintaining social relationships with the island.

Ho demonstrates that Afro-Trinidadians in Los Angeles have not assimilated, either structurally or culturally, despite the absence of a spatially defined Trinidadian community, and of stable Trinidadian clubs or associations. Interestingly, Afro-Trinidadians have come to ignore class differences that would have been relevant in Trinidad in order to associate primarily with other Trinidadians. On the one hand, considering the sprawling nature of Los Angeles and the dispersal of the Afro-Trinidadian population there, this is remarkable. On the other hand, it seems to fit with the culture of southern California where decentralized cities promote decentralized social networks. In this respect, the Afro-Trinidadian community in Los Angeles contrasts in significant ways with the concentrated West Indian communities found in many of the metropolitan centers in eastern North America.

Through an exploration of Afro-Trinidadian social networks, Ho demonstrates that the assimilationist paradigm does not apply to the Trinidadians she studied, but her general criticism of assimilation theories has a significant weakness. Her material is derived from interviews with Trinidadians who have migrated to the United States rather than from people of Trinidadian descent who were born or raised in the United States. The assimilation paradigm portrays assimilation as taking place over several generations, rather than among the first arrivals. Consequently, Ho's argument does little to undermine this paradigm. One wonders what sort of

social networks second- or even third-generation Afro-Trinidadians in the United States are creating and maintaining. While Ho is certainly correct that the assimilation paradigm has significant weaknesses, her study does little to demonstrate them.

Salt-Water Trinnies nonetheless makes a worthwhile contribution to understanding processes of Trinidadian immigration, and the experience of Trinidadians in the United States.

Speaking with the Dead: Development of Afro-Latin Religion among Puerto Ricans in the United States. A Study into the Interpenetration of Civilizations in the New World. ANDRÉS ISIDORO PÉREZ Y MENA. New York: AMS Press, 1991. xvi + 273 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

STEVEN GREGORY
Department of Anthropology & African Studies
New York University
New York NY 10003-6790, U.S.A.

Speaking with the Dead contributes to a growing body of literature on Afro-Caribbean religions in the United States. Based on fieldwork conducted in the Bronx (New York), Andrés Pérez y Mena examines the evolving practice of Puerto Rican *Espiritualismo* (spiritualism), a religion that synthesizes beliefs and practices of Spiritism with Afro-Cuban Santería.

Spiritism, based on the teachings of the Parisian mystic and educator, Allan Kardec, spread to Latin America and the Caribbean during the nineteenth century, where its eclectic mix of Comptean positivism and belief in an evolving hierarchy of "spirits" found adherents among the urban and educated middle classes. Afro-Cuban Santería, derived largely from the religion of Yoruba slaves in Cuba, was disseminated in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas by Cuban migrants in the wake of the 1959 Cuban Revolution.

Although Kardecian-style Spiritism remained relatively uninfluenced by African-based religious practices in Puerto Rico, complex social forces have promoted the blending of Spiritism and Santería in New York City, where Puerto Ricans encountered the diverse cultures of the city's growing Caribbean population. As a result, Puerto Rican Spiritism today incorporates beliefs and ritual practices associated with Santería, such as the veneration of *Santos*, or *Orisha*, and the adoption of Afro-Cuban ritual dress and language.

Pérez y Mena stresses the importance of differentiating the heterogeneous religious forms that are being drawn upon by Latinos in the United States, observing that researchers often confuse the highly syncretized *Espiritualismo* practiced by Puerto Ricans with French Spiritism. This has led some to understate, if not neglect, the influence of Afro-Caribbean religious practices and Roman Catholicism on Puerto Rican religious beliefs, practices, and identities.

However, Pérez y Mena tends to understate the contributions that other researchers have made to conceptualizing syncretism as a cultural process and to charting the complex social forces that shape the formation of creole cultures within specific historical contexts. "Most of the literature on syncretism," he contends, "views it in a static, non-historical manner and, most damaging, without consideration of the social forces which ignite the syncretism" (p. 235).

Although the term "syncretism" does not enjoy the currency that it once did, considerable attention has been directed to understanding how local cultures are shaped by transnational movements of people and circuits of cultural production. Concepts such as diaspora, or Paul Gilroy's notion of the "Black Atlantic" (1993), stress the global origins of creole cultural forms and offer important theoretical and methodological insights into studying creolization as a social process. Indeed, a weakness of *Speaking with the Dead* is its lack of engagement with this wider body of literature, or with important issues that have been addressed in recent studies of religious syncretism (e.g., Diana DeG. Brown's [1986] study of the impact of political culture and social hierarchies on the development of Umbanda in Brazil).

Pérez y Mena's treatment of the process of syncretism rests largely on identifying or sorting out the historical origins of linguistic and other cultural elements of Spirituality. Although this procedure, reminiscent of acculturation studies (e.g., Bascom 1971), provides evidence for the fact of syncretism, it tells us little about its constitutive processes. For example, although the author points out that 1960s Puerto Rican activism in the United States cultivated a positive reappraisal of African culture and, thereby, disposed Spiritists more favorably to the influence of Afro-Cuban Santería, this important point receives only summary discussion (pp. 48-49).

When Pérez y Mena turns to his ethnographic study of a Spiritualist *centro* in the Bronx, the question of how evolving conceptions of Puerto Rican identity and interactions within the wider Caribbean community are shaping Spirituality recedes from the foreground. Instead, Pérez y Mena focuses attention on the processes by which spiritualists become

socialized into roles in *centro* life. Although this focus on "role taking," inspired by the work of George Herbert Mead, may illuminate "perspectives of reality" held by Spiritualists (pp. 2-3), it does not shed much light on the process of creolization.

The resulting text, based on the author's participant observation and in-depth interviews with practitioners, offers a rich, albeit schematic, description of the five roles, or "stages" of involvement in the religious life of the Spiritualist *centro*, such as those of the spirit medium and *padrino*, or "godfather." Although *Speaking with the Dead* provides a wealth of information on the beliefs and ritual practices of Spiritualism, it stops short of analyzing the complex social and cultural factors that bring people to these "roles." Such issues as the *centro*'s role in mediating relations with institutions (e.g., the medical and criminal justice system), in serving as a public forum for negotiating gender, class, and race/ethnic identities, and in providing social services to participants are suggested, but largely undeveloped in the author's analysis.

REFERENCES

BASCOM, WILLIAM, 1971. The Focus of Cuban Santería. In Michael Horowitz (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean*. Garden City NY: The Natural History Press, pp. 522-27.

BROWN, DIANE DEG., 1986. *Umbanda: Religion and Politics in Urban Brazil*. Ames: Iowa State University Press.

GILROY, PAUL, 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Itations of Jamaica and I Rastafari (The Second Itation, the Revelation). MIHLAWHDH FARISTZADDI (ed.). Miami: Judah Anbesa Ihntahnah-shinahl, 1991. (Paper NLG 39.95)

FRANK JAN VAN DIJK
Van Limburg Stroomlaan 36
3445 CE Woerden, the Netherlands

This second of a "trihnihtih of ihiythzhz" in praise of Rastafari is an arty collection of attractive full-color photography, poetry, dub and reggae lyrics, reasoning, biblical passages, and Rasta-wisdom. With 250-odd pages, *The Revelation* is about twice the volume of the first *Itations of*

Jamaica and I Rastafari (the Celebration), which appeared in 1987 and, among other things, included a fine glossary of Rastafarian expressions and concepts by Farika Birhan.

Despite the book's tiny size (12 x 19 cm), Faristzaddi's (photo)graphic artwork is – again – impressive. The portraits of Rastafarian families and individuals are highly professional, even though most were obviously instructed to either put on their brightest smile or to pose in a most serious, meditative mood. The skillfully composed trickshots and iconographics are pregnant with Rasta symbolism, and the series of documentary-style pictures of an Ethiopian Orthodox Church's ceremony would not be unworthy of the *National Geographic*.

The texts supporting Faristzaddi's mastery of the art not only include the work of some of the movement's finest poets, among whom Faybiene Miranda, Ihiyaawhtah Farika Birhan, Benjamin Zephaniah, and Mutabaruka, but also quite a few song texts courtesy of Misty in Roots, Third World, Judy Mowatt, I Jahman Levi (almost a complete album), and others. A number of less prominent Rastafarians, from various corners of the earth, contribute to this volume with brief testimonies of the faith intended to clarify the essence of Rastafari knowledge and "livity." For those not familiar with what seems to be the latest trend in Rastafarian spelling, it may, however, require some diligence to decipher the message: "Thi dihskuhvvah ihihnh wahn bhukh ihihnh dehmh tihmhzhz dahth aah graihth ihihnhjuhstihz ahzhz bihnh duhnh tuh Ihi yahnh Ihi pheephhlhe." Together with the fragments of Rastafarian prayers and chants, and the numerous quotations from the Holy Book, this sumptuous collection nevertheless provides useful insights into contemporary "Rastology."

Yet, one can hardly escape the impression that the second *Itations* somehow has a slightly elitist flavor, perhaps also resulting from a strong involvement of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. There is, to be sure, the occasional picture of an elderly Jamaican – dreadlocks – clothing threadbare, face betraying a life of hardship. But the majority of the portraits depict fashionable and seemingly well-to-do Rastas, like the glamorous, self-confident Rastafarian Queens posing on Capitol Hill in stylish African gowns and jewelry. *The Revelation* presents the cosmopolitan elite of a trans-Atlantic, multi-racial brotherhood of Rastafari, rather than the poor-but-proud Rasta sufferers celebrating the Love of Jah in the terror-ridden ghettos of Kingston. As such, it is clearly the product of the movement's intellectual vanguard, which in the Age of Coca-Cola culture has found the symbolism of the *lumpen's* millenarian resistance to be a suitable expression of its own quest for an African identity.

The Social Origins of Democratic Socialism in Jamaica. NELSON W. KEITH & NOVELLA Z. KEITH. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992. xxiv + 320 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

DERWIN S. MUNROE
Department of Political Science
Northwestern University
Evanston IL 60208, U.S.A.

This volume joins a legion of studies on Jamaica's experiment in the 1970s with "democratic socialism." The work contributes to the debate within this literature on the nature of the policy and ideological programs of Michael Manley and his Peoples National Party (PNP), its significance in Jamaica's transition to decolonization and democratization, and the causes of the collapse of the regime in 1980. Nelson W. Keith and Novella Z. Keith provide a useful application of theory, and draw together much of the extant literature of a thoroughly discussed phase of recent Jamaican political history, but ultimately their book is only partially effective in expanding our understanding of the period.

Part 1 provides the theoretical framework and an overview of twentieth-century political and social development in Jamaica. The main theoretical argument relies on an application of what the authors call "national popularism." Part 2 details the link between the formative period of the PNP in the 1930s: its bases of social support, the content of party ideology and political practices, and their resonance with various themes in popular ideology. This is a very suggestive section of the book, seeking to locate the material correlates of these organizational and ideological forms. Attention to the components, the internal contradictions, and the context of production of "party identities" (as expressed by both the leadership and supporters) is a potentially fruitful line of research for understanding not only the parties themselves, but also how these political identities are connected to other areas of social life. Regrettably, Keith and Keith do not extend this analysis as fully as it deserves.

Part 3 gives an account of the process of class formation in Jamaica after the 1930s, and analyzes its relevance for the new political agenda after decolonization in 1962. Pointing to the fragmentation of interests and consciousness among capitalists, the middle class and "subordinate classes," the authors recommend a more nuanced analysis of conflict between and within classes to understand the support for and opposition to the PNP agenda of the 1970s. In the final section, divisions of the economic elite into industrial and commercial/mercantile "fractions," and the central posi-

tion of the middle class, are proposed as explanations for the PNP program of the 1970s and its fate. The conclusion is that democratic socialism was a bourgeois class project ("national popularism") aimed at the more effective cooptation of anti-systemic dissidence, the allocation of resources in favor of a middle class facing structural crisis, while maintaining populist class alliances and a nationalist ideology.

The authors attempt to make conceptual, empirical, and interpretive contributions to knowledge of the period. A central fissure in the debate on democratic socialism in Jamaica concerns two components of the explanation for its collapse: the first argues that policy mistakes and internal fragmentation in the party were responsible, the other that a hostile international economic and political environment caused the failure of the PNP and Manley. In contrast, Keith and Keith posit the inevitable implosion of the PNP experiment, due to the historic position of the PNP in maintaining a capitalist order in Jamaica, and the fragility of the class coalition that brought Manley to power in 1972. "National popularism" was, according to the authors, "doomed to fail for structural as well as historical reasons" (p. 37); these reasons involved domestic class dynamics, not the nature of the international environment.

There is merit in the call for closer scrutiny of the domestic bases of the PNP agenda and support in the 1970s, as the "international constraint" argument can reveal little of the "why and how" of the initiation of the radical experiment. But the external environment, however defined, acts as more than a constraint on actors and resources, and Keith and Keith do not sufficiently theorize the wider structural and ideological context. Democratic socialism in Jamaica was part of a wave of responses to the political and economic crises of the late 1960s and the 1970s, one which affected (with varying results) other societies with class and social structures different from those in Jamaica. It might have been useful to consider the mobilization efforts, language, and the policies of the PNP as part of a historically situated "repertoire" of political engagement, drawn upon by parties of varying social composition in other nations as well. Such considerations are important for understanding the origins of class consciousness and action, and the evaluation of domestic class relations that lie at the origin of democratic socialism in Jamaica; the "external," therefore, could have been considered more creatively without abandonment of a focus on domestic class actors.

A central goal of the work is to evaluate the concept "national popularism" (p. 38); however, this device provides only limited theoretical mileage while burdening the discussion, already overstocked with "dependent neo-colonialism, national developmentalism, and national populism"

(p. 36). National popularism is apparently distinguished by the relative autonomy of the state and the level of economic nationalism, and as a strategy to mitigate class conflict within capitalism. The argument made in the work, however, does not depend on this terminological innovation, and was burdened further by its reliance on abstracted categories, the imputation of interests and motives from structure, and an implicit determinism resulting from a reliance on the logic of the mode of accumulation as the key in explanation. Insufficient use was made of the materials upon which the book is ostensibly based: reference is made to extensive interviews, but greater reliance is placed on theoretical analysis and on deriving the interests of class fractions from categories and secondary sources. The result is a theory-heavy work. Few concessions are given to the challengers of structural Marxism, in spite of years of critique of this mode of analysis; Keith and Keith could have benefited from an engagement with this literature. One key to combining analyses of structural hierarchy, change, and ideological formation is explicit attention to the varied patterns and timing of the construction of class interests and identities, and the contradictory forces affecting their nature. What is needed, then, is less "high" theory and more detailed historical/ ethnographic work.

An implicit assumption of much of the work on Jamaica in the 1970s is that there was (is?) an ideal democratic socialist path to which Manley aspired, and from which the PNP was derailed. The evolving definition of that term as used by Manley and the party is regularly discounted, and there is need for an analysis which emphasizes the historical location of the PNP platform of the 1970s. Existing evidence suggests that PNP economic and social policies were not a simple product of programmatic change and ideological principles, but were proposed and implemented in an often ad hoc manner, were aimed at addressing issues of party competition, internal party solidarity, and social cohesion more often than social transformation, and were quickly diluted when circumstances dictated their abandonment. In this Keith and Keith provide an interpretive framework that renders this evidence more salient, which makes the work a creditable contribution to the literature.

The authors' conclusion that structural factors caused the stillbirth of democratic socialism in Jamaica is an important one, but may be less significant than the conclusion that it was a class project evolved as an explicit response to crises of accumulation and social order, and not the program of well-intentioned, progressive middle-class leaders. This latter verdict continues to have important political implications for understanding contemporary Jamaican politics and makes this a suggestive, though only partially rewarding, work.

Education For All: Caribbean Perspectives and Imperatives. ERROL MILLER. Washington DC: Inter-American Development Bank, 1992. 267 pp. (Paper US\$ 18.50)

VIRGINIA HEYER YOUNG
Department of Anthropology
University of Virginia
Charlottesville VA 22903, U.S.A.

This book offers informative analyses of achievements, problems, and new directions of Caribbean educational systems. It draws on papers prepared for the World Conference on Education For All sponsored by the United Nations and the World Bank in 1990, and on the Caribbean Consultation held to prepare for the World Conference. Hispanic Caribbean nations, which were placed with Latin America for Conference purposes, are not included in this report. The book provides overviews of primary and adult education throughout the region, detailed studies of the education systems in Barbados and Haiti (the highest and lowest achieving systems in the region), and a review of recent successful educational projects concerning methods of assessment in Jamaica; development of regional curriculum, teaching materials, and cadres of supervisory teachers; and a project for upgrading untrained teachers in the countries which lack tertiary educational facilities.

Noting the near comparability of Caribbean educational levels to Europe and North America and the out-distancing of most Third World nations, this book discusses the early introduction and high valuation of education in the Caribbean. Mass primary education, designed to induce the ex-slaves to accept the colonial social order, offered the only possibility of social mobility, and Caribbean peoples historically have been committed to education. Primary school enrollment in the Caribbean in 1900 compared favorably with Europe, and was second only to the rapidly industrializing nations. With independence, school development was a popular political platform and the nations which gained it during the economic expansion of the 1960s invested heavily in all levels of education. The recession that began in the mid-1970s brought the expansion to a halt and the current debt crisis has widely reduced quality and availability of education. The countries that gained independence after the economic depression had begun could initiate few improvements.

Numerous indices of achievements in basic education are reported. A key one is the percentage of students who achieve functional literacy in six years of primary schooling. This varies in the region, with Barbados

and Trinidad equaling the United States, and many other countries falling not far behind the United States. Since the Caribbean has virtually achieved the literacy goal set by the World Conference On Education For All, this report insists on different primary school goals for the region, including mastery of basic scientific and social concepts, command of fundamentals of a foreign language, and exposure to a field of fine arts or performing arts. Among goals for secondary education are the introduction of computer knowledge in order to keep open Caribbean participation in the global economy. These goals would be undermined by the priorities and economies recommended for Third World literacy goals. A crucial argument of the book is the Caribbean rejection of the mold cast by funding agencies for basic literacy education in the Third World. This argument spells out the effects of the economic crisis already experienced in the region in terms of the core value, education. People undergoing hardships of economic restructuring also suffer loss of mobility through education. At the same time the public demand for higher quality in education continues, often denigrating the real quality and achievements of the schools and tending to demand literacy rates that are not achieved in any country. The long term programs of schools are derailed by short term economic expediency, and educational personnel are disillusioned by the deterioration of their programs and lose motivation. Declining quality in primary education and curtailment of access to upper levels of education are publicly perceived as evidence of political failure and this perception endangers the traditional commitment to democratic processes.

With the World Conference goals unsuited to Caribbean needs, and its funding limited to the goal of literacy, this book presents a plan for continued state funding of basic education and improvements in the schools. Non-governmental resources would support aid for children from poor families. A broad based monitoring mechanism would assure that state and private resources were beneficially deployed. The plan looks to the Inter-American Development Bank, with expertise in the region's problems, for funding development, and recommends that present needs are the upgrading of secondary schools.

Detailed programs to improve primary and secondary education are presented. The recommendations go beyond the well envisioned fine tuning and the programs to reach under-achieving students, and insist that the widespread alienation of youth undermines schools and societies and has to be addressed. Curtailment of jobs and opportunities to participate in mainstream society redound against education's basic rationale of preparing children for productive employment. Men are increasingly moving into the lower strata while women are experiencing more mobility

and predominate in middle-rank occupations. School achievement reflects this social trend, with boys over-represented in vocational schools – which all too often prepare for non-existent jobs – and girls increasingly over-represented in upwardly mobile school programs. Downward mobility among men fuels the escalating deviancy. Ironically, Miller notes, deviant men contribute importantly to the most successful Caribbean exports, identified here as music, entertainment culture, and sports. The schools must learn, he concludes, to assist the development of arts and athletics.

Here the argument of the book can summon up no research back-up, for schools have long been adversarial to the African-rooted and lower-strata-inspired arts, and to the language and culture of these arts. The issue of Creole in the schools is addressed only in its use as a medium of primary school teaching. While Miller emphasizes the need to look to local cultural practices, educational research largely overlooks this level. Programs that appear to be reaching these youths are being pragmatically invented outside the education establishment. For example, many Vincentian schools, on local initiative, use the vernacular in creative writing and performing arts, and use Standard English as the language of instruction. Creole writing, songs, and performances appear to vitalize school experience. Numerous theatrical groups, which are organized by youths, perform in Creole and dramatize local themes. The Ministry of Health organizes a yearly competition in Dub/Rap for Health, giving cash prizes and playing the winning tapes widely. Environmental clean-up crews have become popular among youth and are rewarded with prizes and public recognition. Miller's analytic framework seeks knowledge of these experiences, but research has not yet provided it.

This impressive book will be valuable to all concerned with Caribbean societies.

Los sefardíes en los dominios holandeses de América del Sur y del Caribe, 1630-1750. GÜNTER BÖHM. Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1992. 243 pp. (Paper US\$ 32.00)

Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba. ROBERT M. LEVINE. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xvii + 398 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95)

VIRGINIA R. DOMINGUEZ
Department of Anthropology
University of Iowa
Iowa City IA 52242, U.S.A.

A Caribbean history of plantation slavery, dependent development, colonial rivalries, and ideological experiments in post-colonial nationalism rarely seems like an obvious setting in which to think of Jews. But Günter Böhm and Robert M. Levine, working on very different historical moments, greatly varying types of sources, and significantly different Jewish populations, make it possible to do just that. Not only do the extensive details on individuals, families, ship arrivals, migrations, fortunes, misfortunes, and disagreements make an always demographically small population in this region much more visible than usual, but they also provide a different angle – an angle based on “Jewish” experience – through which to see the Euro/African societies of the Caribbean as they developed in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and twentieth centuries. While neither book deliberately sets out to rethink the Caribbean in this way, the information they provide could well be taken by others contemplating broad, theoretical, and potentially provocative questions – about nationalisms and diasporas, and the particular modes of inclusion and exclusion on which they are based and through which they intersect; about the place of religious difference in racially stratified plantation-based economies; and about the role of individuals and small communities in developing and sustaining particular structures of capitalist economies.

Los sefardíes en los dominios holandeses de América del Sur y del Caribe is a highly descriptive, detailed report on Jews of Iberian origin who ended up in Dutch colonies in the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean area in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The book consists of a 90-page section on Sephardic Jews in northeastern Brazil during the period of Dutch control, a 50-page section on the Jewish settlement(s) in Curaçao, a 35-page section on the Sephardic Jewish presence in Suriname, and short sections on Jews in the colonization of “Nova Zeelandia,”

Pomeroon, Cayenne, Tobago, and the island of St. Eustatius. Ample footnotes support the main narrative and document archival sources and contested interpretations.

Lack of maps, photographs, and graphics limits the immediate appeal of this book to very specialized readers, but useful information is made available on synagogues, rabbis (referred to as Hahams in these old Sephardic communities), relations with colonial governors and non-Jewish neighbors, interpersonal conflicts, occupations, Jewish participation in Dutch colonial wars and battles, trips, relocations, official rights and freedoms, periodic attempts to curtail those rights and freedoms, and the social and economic position of these Jewish settlers vis-à-vis slaves and the slave trade. So specific is the level of description that it comes close to overwhelming readers with detail, and yet ironically whets one's appetite for more – especially more on marriage and family life, more on Jewish women, more on relations with the slaves they owned and/or traded, more on linguistic changes and their participation in processes of pidginization and creolization, more on individuals passing in and out of Jewish social circles, more social analysis.

Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba focuses heavily on the twentieth century, arguing that there had been little noticeable Jewish presence in Cuba until late in the nineteenth century and that the history of Jews in Cuba in the twentieth century has been closely linked to the history of Ashkenazi (i.e. northern and eastern European) Jews in the United States – before and after the passing of the 1924 U.S. Immigration Act, before and after World War II, and before and after Castro's toppling of the Batista regime on January 1, 1959. A more flowing historical narrative than Böhm's, *Tropical Diaspora* benefits from the greater availability of sources, both oral and written, to those working with recent history.

Levine makes extensive use of photographs, personal interviews, oral accounts, community records, and formal documents in chapters focusing on immigrants before Nazism, refugees from Nazi Europe, the SS *St. Louis* incident in 1939, adaptations and survival strategies during the war years, the departure of temporary residents and many refugees after the war, the growth and organization of the settled Jewish population in the 1950s, and the extent and characteristics of the "Second Diaspora" – Jews' massive departure from Cuba and relocation as exiles in the United States – following Castro's takeover of the Cuban government. The heavy emphasis in much of *Tropical Diaspora* on the war years, the attempt to find safe haven in Cuba, and the frequent hope of ending up only temporarily in Cuba and permanently in the United States no doubt reflects much of what Levine was told by exiles in the United States and

what he obviously found to be the expressed interest and known practice of many Jews who spent time in Cuba. But that aspect of the book, while plausible as a description of much of the Jewish experience in Cuba in the twentieth century, is only incidentally relevant for Caribbean studies. Of far greater value to a social/economic/political understanding of the Caribbean, and of Cuba in particular, is the rather substantial body of data Levine provides on residential, occupational, civic, educational, political, business, and religious modes of selective integration into Cuba's national life, and the seemingly paradoxical attachment the majority of Cuba's settled Jews (numbering 10,000-12,000 in the late 1950s) had developed for Cuba despite the fact that the vast majority of them chose to leave Cuba within the first few years of Castro's regime.

Some noteworthy observations emerge from reading these books in tandem: First, while centuries apart, miles apart, languages apart, and origins apart, both sets of Jews were more welcome, less subject to governmental discrimination, and allowed to be more useful to the growth of the economy than in those many areas of Europe that they left behind.

Second, this relative social ease has little to do with linguistic or social or phenotypic affinities between the Jews moving in and the social circles in political or economic power in particular Caribbean settings, since by the 1950s about two-thirds of Cuba's Jews were Ashkenazis whereas the majority of Jews in Dutch colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were themselves of direct Spanish or Portuguese birth, parentage, or ancestry and linguistic identification.

Third, we are not likely to know just how many individuals born to Jewish mothers and in Jewish families passed out of the greater Jewish community in these settings in which they were often, though interestingly not always, demographically small minority populations. Böhm writes frequently of "New Christians" who reverted back to Judaism but one gets the impression that the process went both ways, and Levine acknowledges at several points that "persons born Jewish but not acknowledged as Jews by preference or as a result of complete assimilation are not counted" (p. 308).

Fourth, crucial to the economic integration and social tolerability of Jews in the Caribbean was the attribution of whiteness to the Jewish community in these racially constructed plantation-based societies, a point implied more than explored in these books. Limited though revealing were comments in *Los sefardíes* ... about "mulatto" children of Sephardic Jews in Dutch colonial Suriname, some of whom were even officially registered as such in colonial records and seemingly excluded enough from the main Jewish synagogues and activities to organize their own place of worship.

The distinction drawn and maintained preserved the white identification of the recognized Jewish population, while acknowledging social and sexual intimacy across socially constructed color lines. It also provided them with automatic symbolic capital most parlayed into middle- or upper-middle-class access and resources.

The data these two books put forth invite theorizing about the almost perennially small size of Jewish populations in the region. Given relative peace and tranquillity, it may well be that many individuals born Jewish end up no longer identifying as Jews and those seeking a strong organized Jewish community either emigrate to where such communities already exist or find themselves fighting a not very successful battle against assimilation.

Do Jews belong in the Caribbean? Clearly they have and, hence, do. The question is in whose interests and to the benefit of which national(ist) agenda.

An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain over Cuba, 1895-1898. JOHN L. OFFNER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. xii + 306 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 14.95)

ALINE HELG
Department of History
University of Texas
Austin TX 78712-1163, U.S.A.

This study argues that the Spanish-American War of 1898 was both inevitable and necessary. By the end of the nineteenth century, Cuban nationalism and Spanish colonialism had become irreconcilable forces, but no clear winner emerged from the bloody and destructive Cuban-Spanish conflict. Although the U.S. and Spanish governments attempted to bring an end to the war between Cuban nationalists and Spain through a compromise, the Cubans refused any solution short of independence. Simultaneously, unexpected and shocking events as well as popular nationalism in the United States and Spain propelled both governments into a conflict.

Offner uses a top-down approach characteristic of classic international political history. He focuses on the heads of government – Presidents Grover Cleveland (Democrat) and William McKinley (Republican) in the United States, Prime Ministers Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (Conserva-

tive) and Práxedes Mateo Sagasta (Liberal) in Spain – and on their ministers and officials in each other's country. He also analyzes the forces of Cuban nationalism and the role of domestic politics in the United States and Spain. His sources include diplomatic collections in archives in the United States, Spain, France, England, Austria, the Vatican, Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina; printed government documents; U.S., Spanish, and Cuban newspapers; and published memoirs and reminiscences by participants in the process of the Spanish-Cuban-American War.

The book follows a chronological order, beginning with a presentation of the Cuban War for Independence (1895-98) from the perspective of the Cuban nationalist leaders, that of the Spanish Conservatives and Liberals, and that of the U.S. Democrats and Republicans. He then studies U.S.-Spanish relations up to the report on Cuba by William J. Calhoun, which denounced the human horrors of Spain's policy of reconcentration but also raised doubts about Cuba's capacity for full independence. Next, he focuses on the change of government from the Conservatives to the Liberals in Spain and discusses Sagasta's reforms which granted autonomy to Cuba in early 1898. Autonomy, however, was too little and too late for most Cubans, who rejected it. Offner then dedicates one chapter to two well-known events: the interception and publication of a private letter from the Spanish minister in Washington DC, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, ridiculing McKinley and describing Sagasta's reforms as a means of distracting U.S. attention from Cuba; and the explosion and sinking of the USS battleship *Maine* in Havana, which exacerbated nationalism in the U.S. and Spanish public opinions and made the war inevitable. The book then discusses the Spanish-American War, the armistice, and the Peace Protocol signed between the two nations in Paris, without Cuban participation in the negotiations.

Although classical in its approach, Offner's study proposes a reinterpretation of the Spanish-American War. Whereas most current literature tends to present it as an opportunity seized by the United States to carry out U.S. world expansionism and imperialism, Offner concludes that such policies were rather an outcome of the war. Before the war, Washington's diplomatic service was amateur and often incompetent. McKinley had adopted contradictory policies toward the Cubans and had no clear view of the post-Spanish Caribbean. Up to March 1898, he would have welcomed continuing Spanish sovereignty with some form of Cuban suzerainty on the island. It was the war and the United States' stunning military victory that altered U.S. foreign policy: by heightening nationalism, it led to expansionism. Business, according to Offner, had only a marginal impact in the administration's decision to go to war. Offner

convincingly analyzes the role of U.S. domestic partisan politics in that process. His downplaying of the impact of sensational journalism is less solidly argued: although patriotism was probably a component of most U.S. citizens' ideology, it is likely that without the propaganda of leading popular newspapers it would not have become so militant.

Offner's use of Spanish diplomatic sources allows him to successfully reassess the Spanish role in the process leading to war with the United States. Existing interpretations have argued that the Spanish, who would not surrender Cuba to the nationalist insurgents, courted a war with the United States to provide an honorable means to withdraw from the island by instead losing it to the U.S. army. Offner shows that the Spanish government worked hard to avoid the war, and that after the war began, the military were not trying to find a rapid way to surrender. As in the United States, in fact, it was mostly for domestic political concerns that Spain went to war.

Finally, the book argues that Cuban nationalist leaders played a non-negligible role in prompting the Spanish-American war. The author claims that through their inflexibility regarding a negotiated solution they showed little imagination in trying to avoid U.S. domination. They simultaneously courted the U.S. Congress in Washington and destroyed U.S. properties in Cuba. He attributes such contradiction to leadership and communication problems. Little is said, however, about the fundamental differences of views on the political future of the island that existed among Cuban exiles in the United States and Cuban nationalists in Cuba. Although most wanted independence from Spain at all costs, some prominent leaders privately hoped for annexation to the United States or some form of temporary U.S. supervision of the island. No doubt, these Cubans were not displeased with the U.S. military intervention in the war and its long lasting impact on Cuban-U.S. relations.

Well written, Offner's book is, despite these minor criticisms, a major contribution to international political history and to the literature on the Spanish-American war of 1898.

Cuba after Communism. ELIANA CARDOSO & ANN HELWEGE. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1992. xiii + 148 pp. (Cloth US\$ 17.95)

DAVID J. CARROLL
Latin American & Caribbean Program
Carter Center of Emory University
Atlanta GA 30307, U.S.A.

The end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union and the communist regimes of East Europe has brought Cuba to the brink of collapse in the 1990s. As the new regimes of the East rejected their communist past in favor of more liberal economic and political systems, they ended their preferential trade arrangements with Cuba, demanded market-value compensation for goods, and discarded socialist orthodoxy. In this context of transition, most of the world has declared that the communist and socialist experiments of this century were dismal failures.

While some analysts equate the demise of East bloc socialism with the final victory of capitalism, others point out glaring failures in the capitalist West and argue for new approaches to development. *Cuba after Communism* falls squarely into the former camp. Eliana Cardoso and Ann Helwege start from the premise that there are only two real options for Cuba: continued stagnation under communism/socialism, or a transition to capitalism. In their words, "there is no middle way between communism and capitalism" (p. 83). With the end of East bloc trade and aid, centralized socialist economic policies can only worsen the already deplorable economic situation. A transition to capitalism is therefore all but inevitable, and the only real question is the structure and speed of such a transition. The answer, according to Cardoso and Helwege, is "shock therapy – a speedy shift to free markets," combined with a receptive U.S. policy to facilitate such a move (p. 51). Specific recommendations for U.S. policy include immediately ending the embargo and ending official U.S. hostility to Castro, arranging for Cuban membership in the IMF and World Bank, providing technical assistance for economic policy-making and institution-building (to support rapid privatization and other reforms), and granting development aid of US\$ one billion per year for five years (pp. 113-14).

The strongest part of Cardoso and Helwege's analysis is their thorough appraisal of the current state of the Cuban economy, including both its successes – in health care, education, and social services – and its dismal failures. They recount the early failure of agricultural diversification strategies in the 1960s, the resultant over-dependence on sugar exports, the limited experiments in allowing material incentives and free markets in

the 1970s and 1980s, and the economic tailspin of the 1990s caused by the end of East bloc support and the economy's inability to adjust.

Cardoso and Helwege's assessment of the rigidities of Cuba's centralized economy is especially helpful in understanding the difficulties facing Cuba as it attempts to adjust to new circumstances. In their view, Cuba's limited attempts at opening markets and allowing profits – and the deep-seated resistance of Castro and Cuban officials toward even minimal capitalist influences – illustrate the futility of both gradualist reforms and hybrid development models. Instead, Cardoso and Helwege argue that private ownership, the right to earn profits, a favorable legal regime for investors, and a free market with meaningful price signals will be essential to drive the economy and to attract foreign capital.

The basic problem with Cardoso and Helwege's argument, in my view, is that they are too ideologically rigid in their advocacy of free market capitalism. While they are correct in saying that "the fundamental issue in Cuban economic adjustment is whether it is feasible for a socialist economy to work under a partially market-driven system" (p. 7), they assume that only purely capitalist approaches will work, and they discard without serious consideration the feasibility of attempts at hybrid models. For example, in analyzing the possible "options" available to Cuba, they argue that past failures in Cuba and elsewhere with hybrid models and free market socialism have proven that such paths are flawed, resulting in low wages and profits accruing mostly to foreign interests. Yet, when reviewing similar problems in capitalist models in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere, Cardoso and Helwege speak not of flawed development models, but rather of "policy errors" (p. 57).

Likewise, while they assume that capitalist development will be flexible enough to compensate for any inequities that are produced ("capitalism with a humanitarian face" [p. 3]), Cardoso and Helwege write off as unworkable any attempts to experiment with limited joint ventures and worker ownership plans unless accompanied by a complete conversion to free markets.

Finally, since the analysis focuses narrowly on the economics of adjustment, little thought is given to political questions, including issues of Cuban national sovereignty. Apparently, Cardoso and Helwege assume most Cubans share their belief that a shift to capitalism is both inevitable and desirable. As a result, no consideration is given to the possibility that the Cuban people might freely choose – perhaps even in the context of an open election – something other than a total conversion to capitalism. In spite of these drawbacks, the book is a welcome addition to the growing literature devoted to the future of Cuba.

Nicolás Guillén: Popular Poet of the Caribbean. IAN ISADORE SMART.
Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990. 187 pp. (Cloth US\$ 27.50)

ANTONI KAPCIA
School of Languages & European Studies
University of Wolverhampton
Wolverhampton WV1 15B, England

The poetry, and indeed the significance, of Nicolás Guillén is, in a sense, a much overworked topic; so much has been written on the now somewhat "institutionalized" poet that it is difficult to see what a new study can be expected to bring. Yet this volume does succeed in rapidly establishing its credentials in this respect, bringing a genuinely new focus on the Cuban poet, in a study which, faults notwithstanding, stands as a work of impressive scholarship and breadth of vision, with an evident underlying "ideological" purpose.

That purpose is, substantially, to locate Guillén as a genuinely Caribbean poet, rescuing him from the conventional tendency of literary critics to see him as either one of the "classics" of Hispanic literature (one who "authentically" wove into his poetics elements of his Afro-Cuban identity), or a fundamentally Cuban poet (in his approach to the question of race), or as a representative of the tradition of politically committed Caribbean art. Instead, Smart endeavors to establish Guillén's essential West Indian-ness, linking his rhythms and accentuation to other, non-Spanish, neo-African, poetry and dance forms and placing him firmly within a Caribbean tradition of oral literature.

Overall, the attempt succeeds in that the argument generally proves convincing and well supported, above all in leading us away from the Eurocentric perspective which has placed Guillén within a Hispanic tradition of "nonsensical" sonic verse. Instead, Smart draws our attention to a deeper Guillén who has a close affinity with the cultural community of the wider Caribbean.

In this respect, his opening chapter is a valuable essay in its own right on the question of the elusive "text" of Caribbean literature, especially of a "pan-Caribbean poetics" and on the tension between scribal and oral traditions. Having thus established the theoretical framework of his study, the division of the book into carefully chosen chapters reflects Smart's purpose.

The second chapter, "The Poet," is the study of the poetics of Guillén, within those identified Caribbean traditions; specifically it focuses successfully and illuminatingly on the inner structure of Guillén's use of the *son*,

seen as an essentially neo-African form. In "The Smartman," Smart then highlights the humor in Guillén, relating it to similar traditions in both oral and scribal literature in Caribbean and African literatures. The next chapter, "The Hero," is a study of the political dimension of Guillén's poetry, taking his portrayal of the Cuban labor leader, Jesús Menéndez, as an archetypal "pan-Caribbean" hero, again linking this characteristic to a wider set of traditions.

Here, however, one could find fault with an otherwise faultless exercise; for Smart's emphasis seems to "de-ideologize" Guillén, removing him from the Marxist tradition and context which, ultimately, seem so fundamental to his perspective of the world and the society in which he lived. There may well have been a wider cultural context for his ideological viewpoint, but to ignore his Marxism is to ignore an important part of Guillén the "political" poet.

To compound this problem, it must be said that the following chapter, "The *Mujer Nueva*," is the study's least convincing part; here, a textually, and contextually, thorough analysis of Guillén's image of the female as part of a Caribbean, and African, tradition is followed by an attempt to argue that that image is, somehow, not gendered or demeaning. If Guillén was, as Smart makes clear in the rest of the book, very much a creature of his time and place, then that must also apply here.

However, the effect of this is more than countered by the quality of the final chapter, where the concept of Guillén's *mulatez* is seen as the necessary contradiction of binary opposites – outside conventional Euro-centric philosophies but firmly within African and neo-African traditions of creative conflict and positive fusion. Here, it seems, is the kernel of Smart's enterprise, in separating his view of Guillén from the conventional perspective of an Hispanic poet who, discovering his cultural roots, then absorbed the concept of *mulatez*, stylistically and in orthodox ideological form, to create a "Cuban" art.

The strength of the opening and closing chapters, the coherence of the underlying argument, and the thoroughness of the textual analysis make this, overall (despite the weaknesses I have identified and a tendency towards hagiography), an impressive contribution to the study of a much maligned and often misunderstood and under-appreciated Caribbean, as well as Cuban, poet.

The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals, and Radicals. MOIRA FERGUSON (ed.). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. xi + 214 pp. (Cloth US\$ 40.00)

SUE N. GREENE
Department of English
Towson State University
Baltimore MD 21204, U.S.A.

Anne Hart Gilbert (1773-1833) and Elizabeth Hart Thwaites (1772-1833), whose lives and writings are the primary focus of this volume, were daughters of Anne Clearkley Hart, born a free colored, and Barry Conyers Hart, an African-Caribbean slave owner whose plantation was Popeshead, near St. Johns, in Antigua. Although the free colored community in Antigua was small, its influence was felt by the European-Caribbean community, mainly because of its property and voting rights but also, as this volume makes clear, because of its association with Methodism, whose founder, John Wesley, championed abolition.

Before 1760, one of Antigua's most prominent citizens, Nathaniel Gilbert, a lawyer and planter who was later Speaker of the Antiguan Assembly, met Wesley on a trip to New England. There Wesley baptized two of Gilbert's slaves and so impressed Gilbert that upon his return to Antigua he became the first planter to convert slaves to Christianity. Methodist missionaries soon began to proselytize in Antigua, their main targets being the freed black and colored population, through whom they hoped to reach the slaves. Although the aims of Methodist missionaries throughout America shifted away from the pro-emancipation stance of Wesley, black Methodists finally seceding to form the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Hart sisters remained true to Wesley's ideal, furthering the cause of abolition through conversion and education.

The implications of the early evangelical movement in the West Indies were broad. Not only were slaves being raised to a level of equality in the spiritual realm, threatening the favored position of whites who had seen Christianity as their exclusive preserve, but they were being taught the tools of empire. To the Hart sisters and like-minded Methodists, conviction entailed education in the very culture that was supposed by most supporters of slavery to be both beyond the grasp of African-Caribbeans and inappropriate for them to acquire. Pro-slavery voices warned of the economic consequences to the British Empire if slaves in the West Indies heeded the call to Methodism, and Methodists, meanwhile, set about educating the slaves to participate in this Empire, though not necessarily

as free subjects. For the early missionaries – as well as for Wesley – conversion, not abolition, was the primary aim.

The Hart Sisters focuses on the two women who were the most active participants in the early Methodist evangelical movement in Antigua. Both women converted to Methodism after the Reverend Thomas Coke, who believed that the preservation of the British Empire was due more than anything else to the spread of Christianity, came to Antigua in 1786, and both married white men who were active in the movement. Anne married a cousin of Nathaniel Gilbert, the lay preacher John Gilbert; and Elizabeth married Charles Thwaites, an evangelical educator. Miscegenous marriages were rare, and both couples suffered the opprobrium of white society, but each of these marriages was sustained by the profound devotion of husband and wife not only to each other but to the Methodist mission in Antigua.

The editor of *The Hart Sisters* introduces her subjects as “the first educators of slaves and free blacks in Antigua and among the first African Caribbean female writers” (p. 1). The writings of the two women published in this volume – whether letters, memoirs, hymns, or poems – all stem from their religious beliefs. Both wrote, in letter form, histories of Methodism in Antigua, Anne completed her husband’s memoir of his own life, and Elizabeth wrote hymns and verses and, again in letter form, a tract on slavery. Elizabeth’s history is more particularly a narrative of her own spiritual progress, much like other testimonials written for the edification of their readers. Her renouncement of the pleasures of her youth, including dancing and playing the piano, reveals the sober side of Methodism, which attributed to “Satan’s power” (p. 94) seemingly all that was entertaining. But Elizabeth’s ear was not entirely deafened by her new calling, as her quotation of one of her slave pupils makes clear: “Massa open me poor sinner heart. He tell me every thing me do” (p. 96). And her poems and hymns reveal her continued sensitivity to both sound and image. Anne’s history, on the other hand, not only offers a chronology of Methodist missionaries in Antigua, but mentions the Quakers and Moravians who came before them and describes Antigua at a time when “all were equally, & grossly dark” (p. 61). Anne speaks of the “diabolical superstition” practiced by the slaves, from whom “the torch of Moral and divine truth was carefully hid ... lest by it they should discover that they were Men, and Brethren, and not Beasts, and Reptiles” (p. 58). But not only does she enumerate various Obeah customs among the slaves, she offers examples of “great Heathenism among the free people of Colour” and of “great ignorance & superstition” among the white upper classes (p. 60). She also delineates what qualities are required of the missionary – and, no less

important, his wife – and analyzes the relationship between master and converted slave, arguing that

The great civilization of the Slaves, their gradual emergence, from the depths of ignorance & barbarism, has imperceptibly had an over-awing effect upon the System of tyranny & cruel oppression that was formerly exercised over them with little or no restraint when they differed in so few respects from the Beasts that perish: And as a natural consequence, those that are set over them feel more cautious in dealing with rational creatures than they did with being imbruted in ev'ry way both body & mind. (pp. 73-74)

Just as conversion of the slaves causes masters to behave more humanely toward them, the slaves “become more creditable & decent in their families & manners” (p. 74). To Anne, “barbarism,” like a bad illness, was not congenital and was treatable; and curing the barbarity of the slave could improve the health of the master.

The most stirring of these brief pieces is Elizabeth's 1794 letter to a friend in which she keeps her promise “to say something concerning slavery” (p. 104), self-consciously breaking her silence on this topic. Elizabeth says that “it is not anything which I have read that has furnished thoughts upon the subject,” that her “mind was perfectly made up before” the little she has read came into her hands (p. 111). So her argument against slavery, though it is similar to abolitionist tracts of the period, arises from her own observations in Antigua. She remarks that she does “not recollect that I ever made any objections to the merely being in a state of servitude,” but says “Heaven forbid that I should be a slave!” It is not the “state of subordination” itself that bothers her, but “the black train of ills which I know to be inseparably connected with this species of slavery,” which begins with “the shocking practice of taking the Africans from their native land” (p. 105). She rejects the proposition that West Indian slaves are better off than poor Europeans, who are somewhat protected by laws. And she denounces the “pains ... taken to prevent, or break, the nearest alliances, often in times of sickness and distress, and sometimes from the basest views.” Children are taken from their mothers and “sent to some other Island, where they would sell for the best price, no more regard being paid to the feelings of the parents than if they were cattle.” She has seen an only son sold by his mistress just to buy bread, and a young woman “bartered for a horse” (p. 106). Slaves who because of their “good natural understanding” could “become ornaments to society” are “bound down by some unenlightened mercenary mortal, who perhaps has not a thought or wish above scraping money together,” and “every

contrivance is made ... to baffle their efforts for decency and virtue," not to mention profit (p. 107). Elizabeth notes Christian attributes among the unconverted slaves, and hypocrisy among the Christian masters, observing that "though barbarous and uncivilized, [the slaves] are not so depraved as the generality of the Europeans, but more especially the West Indians." Indeed, she argues, "slavery has rendered every part of the West Indies equally iniquitous," the basic reason being, she suggests, that

Europeans who have not independent fortunes, for the most part labour with their hands; (and I always look upon employment as being next to religion for the prevention of crime;) while most of the free people in this part of the world, of all complexions, are supported, by the toils of the slaves, in every degree of idleness and excess. Slavery affords them a wide field for the indulgence of every diabolical disposition, in which they "riot unscaresd." (p. 109).

Elizabeth's impassioned attack on slavery almost certainly grew out of her religious conversion: in abolishing slavery, she would "restore the lustre of the Christian name, too long sullied with oppression, cruelty, and injustice" (p. 111). For both Anne and Elizabeth, their religious beliefs were the impetus for a whole variety of good works. Together they founded the first Sunday school in the West Indies, to which, as an observer pointed out, "poor children, whether slave or free, were admitted" – this "at a time, too, when teaching slaves to read was so unpopular and suspicious a measure, that the missionaries were instructed to avoid it" (p. 126). The school "consisted of every shade of colour, from pure white to unmixed black" (p. 127). The sisters also founded the Female Refuge Society of Antigua for orphans and destitute young women – an institution that tried to reverse the status of marriage among blacks and prepare women to be self-supporting and respected members of society – as well as other benevolent institutions "for feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and relieving the afflicted" (p. 119), and together they ran the English Harbour Sunday School for Females. Both women were deeply committed to the education – religious and secular – of children and adults and seem to have been fully capable of carrying out their commitment. Though they sought support in England, they drew from their own pockets. But for all their efforts they were often rebuffed, Anne being brought to court for her activities and escaping jail only because, as her husband observed, "there was no law to punish persons for giving charity to slaves, and she had done no injury to their proprietors" (p. 135).

But, in fact, these two women, along with their husbands and helpers, must have done considerable injury to the institution of slavery in

Antigua. By providing slaves with a belief system that placed them on equal footing before a power higher than their masters but of which their masters were a part and by arming them with literacy in the language of their masters, they contributed to the realization of possibilities their students might otherwise not have entertained. They spoke to and for a population that could not speak out – or even, according to Elizabeth, speak: “You will not perhaps, find the sufferers disposed to complain of their case. Not many are capable of explaining, however keenly they may feel, their disadvantages” (p. 108).

Only 57 of the 210 pages of this book contain writings of the Hart sisters. The editor’s introduction, which provides limited information on the sisters themselves, is nearly as long as the combined writings. The largest section of the book, nearly half, is appendices, some of which refer to the sisters, but many of which do not and a considerable number of which are republished from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works. In her introduction, the editor tries to put the Hart sisters’ writings in a variety of contexts, including the history of Methodism in Antigua, the West Indies, and America and of the free colored community in Antigua. The appendices, although broadening the context for the sisters’ writings, both repeat much of what is said in the introduction and writings and offer additional material without comment. They are the raw material out of which a different sort of book might have been made. The title of this book, given the brevity of the section containing the Hart sisters’ writings and the preponderance of the appendices, is somewhat misleading.

The Final Campaign of the American Revolution: Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas. JAMES A. LEWIS. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. xi + 149 pp. (Cloth US\$ 24.95)

MICHAEL CRATON
Department of History
University of Waterloo
Waterloo ON N2L 3G1, Canada

Remedial microhistory requires the recovery of missing details, their accurate placement within the larger context, and, above all, the retention of a judicious sense of proportion. Largely owing to the interrupted flow of British communications, the patchiness of the American documents, and the difficulties inherent in the Spanish archives for Anglophone readers,

the eleven months of the Spanish occupation of New Providence during the last year of the American War of Independence has hitherto been a brief hiatus or hiccup in Bahamian historiography. This James Lewis has attempted to fill or cure, but with only limited success.

Coming from a specialist interest in Mexico during the American Revolution, Lewis has assiduously combed the British and American as well as Spanish archives, and provides a wealth of new and often interesting detail. He has some useful things to say about the difficulties of co-operation between the ostensible allies in the war, the ambivalence of the actual participants towards the issues, and the paralyzing rivalries between Spanish bureaucrats and fighting men. The larger canvas, though, remains distinctly muddy – both because the minutiae are not always related clearly to generalities, and because of a prevailing imprecision in the use of terms.

The book does not get off to a good start, having a questionable title, a dustjacket map that is only marginally relevant, and a first chapter that has seven off-center or debatable statements in the first two paragraphs. To specify some of these points is not pedantic, for they illustrate some of the book's salient weaknesses. The text begins with the statement that the Bahamas were "more commonly called in the eighteenth century New Providence." This is simply not true; but worse, it leads the author to use the name of the island where the Bahamian capital was located interchangeably with that of the entire archipelagic colony of the Bahamas, and consequently to confuse the reader both about the focus of the naval and military activities described and the strategic significance of the Bahamas as a whole.

Similar misapprehensions stem from the author's location of the Bahamas "at the northernmost point of the Caribbean," and the inaccurate or imprecise statements that almost all exports from the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico actually passed New Providence, which is said to be "situated alongside" both the Florida Strait and the Old Bahama Channel. Likewise, the reader is likely to be confused by the author's use of outmoded, if not incorrect, terms such as New Bahama Channel (for Florida Strait) or Gulf of Providence (for Tongue of the Ocean).

A book which seemingly concentrates on New Providence (where less than two-thirds of the Bahamian population lived in 1782) calls into question the accuracy of the subtitle "Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas," just as the use of the word "Campaign" in the main title seems a misleading description of the supine surrender of May 1782, the eleven-month occupation, and the almost equally bloodless handover of April 1783, after peace had already been signed in Europe. Likewise, the map on

the cover showing the voyage of Commodore Gillon in the frigate *South Carolina* from Holland by way of Corunna, Teneriffe, and Charleston to Havana between September 1781 and January 1782 not only tells us nothing about the subsequent expedition which Cagigal, the Captain General of Havana, led to New Providence aboard Gillon's vessel, but overemphasizes the author's concern to show that the "campaign" was as much an American as a Spanish enterprise. A similar inaccuracy and disproportion is embedded in the sweeping statement that "the Bahamas fell to new masters often," being "occupied four times in eight years by invading forces" – thereby equating the Spaniards' year-long takeover of New Providence and the Loyalists' postwar "reconquest" with Admiral Ezekial Hopkins's two-week occupation of 1776 and Captain Rathburn's two-day descent on Fort Nassau in 1778.

Lewis's account provides a partial assessment of the way that the capture of New Providence fitted into Spain's overall Caribbean policy once it had rather belatedly joined in the war against Britain: the taking of a prize more achievable if secondary to Jamaica; the securing of a bastion athwart the Florida Strait which would complement the retaking of Florida, which in itself (given the acquisition of Louisiana in 1763) represented the recreation of the Gulf of Mexico as a Spanish lake. He might, though, have stressed more the way in which the possession of the entire Bahamas would serve as a chain of protection for Cuba; how the eradication of a base for privateers (whom Lewis, copying the Spanish sources, calls "corsairs") was vital considering the depredations that were bringing the Spanish colonial economy almost to its knees; how crucial was the fact that Rodney's victory over de Grasse at The Saints in April 1782 (the month before the capture of New Providence) not only saved Jamaica but changed the naval balance in the Caribbean and made peace inevitable; and above all, perhaps, the fact (uncomfortable to some Americans) that while Spain saw Britain as her proper enemy and was prepared to a degree to work with France under the terms of the Family Compact, she was never prepared fully to ally herself with a new republic that was almost inevitably destined to expand westward to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico.

Much more evident and valuable in Lewis's account are the narrower details. By his exploration of the Spanish sources on Cuba he shows how the reforms and plans of Charles III were compromised by conflicts between naval and military, judicial, administrative, and financial officials on the spot, as well as by the perennial inefficiency, sloth, and corruption of the Spanish colonial system in general. He rescues several individuals from obscurity (and the confusions of previous writers, not excluding the

present reviewer): the pompous and pusillanimous Cagigal, and the monumentally unfortunate Claraco, whose year as governor of New Providence was rewarded by eight years in jail before his court martial exoneration and promotion to general. He almost brings the forgotten South Carolinian Commodore Alexander Gillon back to life, though he tries, perhaps, to make him (and his ship) more important than they were. Lewis's own account shows Gillon to have been a cantankerous seeker after prizes, as eager to avoid creditors as a pitched battle, while his elegant forty-gun ship, the largest warship to serve on the revolutionary side, was (under a different commander) to strike its colors in its very first engagement, in November 1782. The most interesting new character in the narrative is the young Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda, then a royalist lieutenant colonel serving as aide-de-camp and interpreter between Cagigal and Gillon, who may have learned something from the Bahamian expedition and his 1782 American comrades in arms that led him in time to become the precursor of Latin American creole independentism.

On the other side, Lewis provides less that is new, but gives a good account of two contrasting governors of the Bahamas, the almost comical poltroon Browne and the dithering Maxwell. He properly deflates the achievements of Andrew Deveaux, the alleged Bahamian Liberator, which were mainly derived from the man's own self-serving dispatches and the need of British writers to create a hero, in favor of lesser officers, particularly Robert Rumer, a native son of Harbour Island. The narrative of both the conquest and reconquest of Nassau irons out some obscurities or errors in previous accounts, but there remain serious gaps. The form of Spanish rule in Nassau remains unfortunately sketchy as does the reaction of the people to it. There are useful if unsystematic details on Nassau's function as a privateering base, and of the operations of some privateering merchants and mariners. There are hints, but there should be more, about the Bahamian people – not just about the divisions between those sympathetic to the Americans, those determined to make their fortunes from prizes, those eager for peace at all costs and, smallest segment of all, those prepared to fight for King and Empire, but between the different classes of whites, the free coloreds, and the black slave majority. Lewis, for example, might have given a more valuable and accurate description of Nassau, New Providence, the other Bahamian islands and their people, from the vivid description given by Johann David Schoepf only a year after the Spaniards left.

It should be added, though, that neither Schoepf's 1784 account nor the first detailed map of Nassau, which dates from 1788, provide any indication of the so-recent Spanish occupation. Considering such contem-

porary silence, along with the paucity of subsequent scholarly treatments of Spain's Caribbean role between 1779 and 1783, we should be grateful for the manifold details and hints that Lewis has recovered and deployed – almost as much in the copious notes as in the text itself – in a book that Edward Cox's dustjacket blurb calls, with scrupulous accuracy, "the most complete account to date of the Spanish attempts to capture and hold on to the Bahamas in the wake of the American Revolution."

The Black Ordeal of Slavery and Slave Trading in the French West Indies, 1625-1715. CLARENCE J. MUNFORD. Lewiston NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991. 3 vols. xxii + 1054 pp. (Cloth US\$ 229.85)

DAVID GEGGUS
Department of History
University of Florida
Gainesville FL 32611, U.S.A.

As modern works on the seventeenth-century French Caribbean are few, a new study is especially welcome. Clarence Munford devotes one-third of his text to Africa and the slave trade, and a further eighteen chapters to colonization and plantation slavery during the formative period of the French Empire. During these years sugar emerged as the principal crop in the Caribbean, the provision ground system and Saturday regime took shape, and French merchants successfully gained control of colonial commerce from the Dutch. Munford's analysis is Marxist and his tone angry and polemical. Believing "dispassionate" history is "morally repugnant," he castigates "bourgeois" historians (though naming no names) as apologists for international capitalism, and he describes a world in which slavery was indistinguishable from sadism and "mass heroism" was an "essential attribute" of its victims (pp. 273, 295).

Administrative correspondence in the Archives Nationales, Elizabeth Donnan's documentary collection, and the contemporary publications of Labat and Dutertre were the main sources used. However, a troubling tendency to rely on late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works raises the question of anachronism in several places. The book was also a long time in writing. Almost none of the secondary publications on Africa Munford cites date from after 1980. Jacques Petitjean-Roget's *La société d'habitation*, the most substantial work on the early French Caribbean, is scarcely mentioned, and the important research of Arlette Gautier is passed

over in favor of the oft-quoted and unscholarly *Collier de servitude* of Frantz Tardo-Dino. Though praising Jean Mettas's slave trade *Répertoire*, Munford misses a golden opportunity to extend that work backwards in time. Disdaining to "play the numbers game," he nonetheless feels free to make unsupported assertions on quantitative matters, nowhere revealing the quantity of evidence he collected. Single illustrative examples are scattered through meandering narratives but there are no tables, and the only attempt to synthesize population or commercial data concerns the first three years of slave trade statistics published by Mettas.

The frequency of error and hyperbole, added to problems of evidence, undermine confidence in the author's claim. Readers seeking information on vital rates, sex ratios, the length of boiling house shifts, etc. will find contradictory estimates on different pages, some patently implausible. The boldest assertions often go unfootnoted. Historians will want to know what evidence there is that Lunda slaves were sold on the Loango coast in the seventeenth century, or that absentee proprietorship was already the rule in the French islands by 1700, or that food crop acreage declined "year by year ... in favor of cash crops," as the slave population grew (pp. 115, 428). One may also doubt that one-third of adult male slaves had hernias, that the main cause of yaws among African slaves was systematic rape on slave ships, or that slaves ate with their fingers "for lack of spoons and forks" (pp. 313, 608, 609). That coffee was grown in Saint Domingue by 1670 and even earlier in Guadeloupe would be a major discovery, if true. References to "bales of sugar," "refining mills," and simultaneous crises of labor shortage and overproduction in the 1670s are puzzling. So, too, is the report of planters who systematically plied slaves with rum to "mellow" their dangerous moods (pp. 506, 517, 609).

Some key questions are hardly investigated at all. Why was the French slave trade much less efficient than its competitors? Why did slaves replace European servants? One looks in vain for new information on gender relations in slavery or the ethnic origins of the workforce. And though Munford continually targets merchant capitalism and feudal absolutism, he seems unconcerned with the links between aristocratic landowners and bourgeois capital. Slavery is presented as costly and low in productivity, yet somehow more productive than free labor and the source of large profits. Price levels are ignored throughout. Tobacco and cotton gave way to sugar because "smallholding density had exceeded the optimum" (p. 508). The author appears unaware of much of the historiography of these and related matters.

Apparently unedited, the writing mixes purple prose with colloquialisms and faulty grammar and word usage. The exposition is prolix and repeti-

tious. Although it certainly contains useful material, I could find little in this work to justify its extreme length and expense.

REFERENCES

DONNAN, ELIZABETH (ed.), 1930-35. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*. 4 vols. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution.

DUTERTRE, JEAN-BAPTISTE, 1667-72. *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les Français*. 3 vols. Paris.

GAUTIER, ARLETTE, 1985. *Les soeurs de Solitude: La condition féminine dans l'esclavage aux Antilles du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Éditions Caribéennes.

LABAT, JEAN-BAPTISTE, 1724. *Voyage aux isles de l'Amérique*. 2 vols. The Hague.

METTAS, JEAN, 1978. *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises au XVIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: Société Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer.

PETITJEAN-ROGET, JACQUES, 1980. *La société d'habitation à la Martinique, un demi-siècle de formation, 1635-1685*. 2 vols. Paris: H. Champion.

TARDO-DINO, FRANTZ, 1985. *Le collier de servitude: La condition sanitaire des esclaves aux Antilles françaises du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Éditions Caribéennes.

Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956. TIMOTHY P. WICKHAM-CROWLEY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. xx + 424 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95, Paper US\$ 17.95)

PAUL E. SIGMUND
Department of Politics
Princeton University
Princeton NJ 08544, U.S.A.

This important book is a comparative study of twelve guerrilla movements in Latin America, beginning with Castro's landing in eastern Cuba in 1956. Six of those movements took place in the 1950s and 1960s, and six in the 1970s. Only two of them were successful: Castro's revolution which over-threw Batista in 1959, and the victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in 1979. Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, using John Stuart Mill's "method of agreement and method of difference," traces out the common elements in the movements, and the differences among them in order to explain why the two succeeded and the others failed. In the process he develops a the-

ory of revolution which neither reduces it to a single cause, nor produces a "laundry list" of variables with no predictive or analytic power.

The book is both theoretically informed – written with an awareness of the literature he utilizes and criticizes – and empirically based. It draws on the substantial literature in several languages on revolutionary movements, particularly the works of Theda Skocpol, James Scott, and Jeffery Paige. All three of these have written about peasant revolutions, and it turns out that despite the massive urbanization of Latin America in the last several decades, nearly every revolutionary movement (with the exception of Carlos Marighela in Brazil, the Montoneros in Argentina, and the Tupamaros in Uruguay) had a significant rural base. Furthermore, the rural base turns out to have been concentrated among squatters, sharecroppers, and the rural proletariat – one of several new findings of Wickham-Crowley's study. But the base had to be mobilized – which invariably was done by urban intellectuals, professionals, and students from the rapidly expanding universities. The guerrillas also had to develop enough military power and legitimacy to challenge the government – linking themselves to cross-class alliances in the cities that opposed discredited and corrupt governments that in addition lost the support of the United States. Only in the two cases of Cuba and Nicaragua was there a combination of peasant base, elite mobilization, "dual power," and loss of international support, while in the other cases, many of which seemed ripe for revolution, the absence of one or more conditions meant defeat.

Having developed a theoretical framework that combines both state and society, internal and external factors, Wickham-Crowley is able to refute or criticize other explanations. Among those that he singles out for attack are Che Guevara's theory of the rural *foco*, the view that a mass popular uprising must be irresistible, the attribution of guerrilla success to outside aid from Cuba or failure to U.S. "counterrevolutionary" activity, and Theda Skocpol's claim that regime collapse is the principal cause of the victory of the revolutionaries. In each case Wickham-Crowley produces Latin American cases that refute what seems to be a single factor explanation. Similar treatment is also given to explanations that emphasize economic, ideological, cultural, and organizational factors. The book is written in a sprightly, readable style; the case studies, consistently comparative, are summarized in numerous illustrative charts (one compares 28 revolutionary movements and another gives details on 125 revolutionary leaders); and the entire argument is clear and persuasive. The author concludes (p. 299) that his research has identified a type of patrimonial pretorian regime that was particularly vulnerable to revolution, but that in most other cases guerrilla success was very unlikely, whether

against determined military regimes or legitimate democratic governments.

The use of the past tense in the last sentence is indicative of the change that has taken place in Latin America since the period covered by the book. A few revolutionary movements still hang on in Colombia and Peru, but the leader of Sendero Luminoso is in jail and supports Peruvian President Fujimori, while the head of the M-19 Movement in Colombia ran in the May 1994 presidential elections – receiving 4 percent of the vote. The Guatemalan guerrillas are nearing a peace agreement, and the ex-guerrilla FMLN has become the second largest party in the Salvadoran Congress and is showing signs of internal division. As usual, social science tells us more about the past than the future. “The owl of Minerva is only heard at twilight.”

It is difficult to criticize such a well-crafted and carefully-documented study. Wickham-Crowley could have drawn on more of the large body of guerrilla memoirs now available in Spanish and Portuguese. Iran and Eastern Europe have shown that revolutions need not have a rural base. The book accepts uncritically John Gerassi’s exaggerated claim that the CIA organized the assassination of the Dominican dictator, Rafael Trujillo (p. 325). Otherwise, this is a masterful study of an important topic that both summarizes and contributes to our knowledge of the subject. One comes away from it with more understanding of why successful revolutions are so rare – and are likely to be rarer still in the future. The specific lesson for the West Indies is the importance of maintaining democratic legitimacy during and after elections. (The case of Grenada is not included but there are interesting parallels, as well as significant differences from Wickham-Crowley’s model.)

Elections and Party Systems in the Commonwealth Caribbean, 1944-1991. PATRICK A.M. EMMANUEL. St. Michael, Barbados: Caribbean Development Research Services, 1992. viii + 111 pp. (Paper n.p.)

The Democratic System in the Eastern Caribbean. DONALD C. PETERS. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1992. xiv + 242 pp. (Paper US\$ 47.95)

ROBERT E. MILLETTE
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
Lincoln University
Lincoln PA 19352, U.S.A.

Elections and Party Systems analyzes present statistical data on 101 general elections in ten Caribbean countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. This study provides valuable information about political association of individuals, the development of political parties, alternation among political parties and political leaders, the Westminster model, the increase in the number of elected representatives, and the impact of the broadening of the franchise by reducing the qualifying age from 21 to 18 years.

Chapter 2 gives reasons why people vote. Caribbean people vote, says the author, because they want to support a particular person, party, program, or leader. Voter registration is usually higher in elections where there are hotly contested issues and charismatic candidates. For example, the removal of Eric Matthew Gairy and Maurice Bishop from the political scene in Grenada resulted in a 24 percent decline in voter registration in 1984. In Trinidad and Tobago voter registration and voter turnout were particularly high in 1956 and 1961 when Eric Williams and Rundernath Capildeo, both charismatic leaders, opposed each other. Patrick Emmanuel makes clear, however, that there is no direct correlation between voter registration and voter turnout. Another factor responsible for increased voter registration is the lowering of the voting age. In both Trinidad and Tobago and St. Kitts, for example, this change increased voter registration by about 25 percent.

Chapter 3 traces the development, successes, and demise of political parties in all ten countries, and provides a clear overview of political trends in the Caribbean. Emmanuel's analysis indicates that democracy is alive and well in the Caribbean. The simple-majority electoral system, the willingness of politicians to change parties, the merging of opposing political parties, and the multi-party contests allow the electorates to remove a

party or an individual from office.

Ninety percent of the political parties discussed in Chapter 3 were formed by labor unions, and several enjoyed what Emmanuel calls one party dominance. Up to 1965, the Antigua Labor Party (ALP) won all the seats in the legislature. There were twelve occasions on which a single party won all the seats. The data also indicated the durability of several political parties. Trinidad and Tobago is, perhaps, a good example of a country with a one-party system of government. The People's National Movement (PNM) was organized by Eric Williams in 1955. The PNM won the majority of seats seven times during 1956-1991, and its only defeat came in 1986.

Chapter 4 discusses the role women play, or fail to play, in Caribbean politics. The data indicate that sixteen women were elected in Jamaica and Trinidad respectively, seven in Grenada, and six in Dominica. A total of fifty-nine women were elected from the ten countries.

In Chapter 5, Emmanuel suggests what characteristics are essential for political parties to succeed: charismatic leadership, structure or organization, ideology, life span, and electoral performance. Ninety-one of the 101 elections studied were won by political parties. There were twenty-four successful parties that won elections and formed governments.

The book concludes by examining the realignments that have occurred in the region. In addition to the formation of new parties formed as a result of switching, there are also realignments – with regard to political leadership, switching political allegiances, and forming minor or major parties.

Elections and Party Systems provides rich data for additional analysis and review. My only disappointment is that readers are left "hanging." The book would have benefited from a concluding chapter, comparing the party structure of the English-, Spanish-, Dutch-, and French-speaking Caribbean. In addition, the author could have used the data collected to test for correlations between geographical location, gender, skin color, status, family name, political leadership, and political participation. In addition, formations, successes, and failures of coalition governments in the region could have been discussed.

In contrast to Emmanuel, Donald C. Peters uses examples of colonization, class and race cleavages, and social and cultural values to explain the "Eastern Caribbean Model." Peter's book, *The Democratic System in the Eastern Caribbean*, is well written, theoretically and methodologically provocative, and to a large extent captures the political structures that exist in the Eastern Caribbean. Peters's analysis of how political leaders adjust to power, punish their enemies, reward their supporters, and maintain the status quo, and his depiction of the absence of ideology

among most political leaders, are well documented. This book also argues that economic and social prestige and the quest for power are the major reasons most people run for political office.

To make his case, Peters relies on the evolutionary model of Comte, Spencer, and Frazier and argues that slavery and British domination may be responsible for the "authoritative democracy" that emerged in the modern Caribbean. His theoretical and methodological approach, which maintains that slavery stripped the slave of his culture and political system, prevented him from comparing and analyzing existing political structures in the Eastern Caribbean with those found in England and Africa.

Peters's book nonetheless provides helpful insights about the role of charismatic leaders in Caribbean politics, portraying them as autocratic, demanding of political loyalty, and striving to make major decisions. In order to remain in office, these leaders form alliances with the Catholic Church, the new elites, and the economic elites.

Chapter 4 argues that Caribbean people believe in the social ordering of society and that British colonialism conditioned them to accept Caribbean democracy without any challenge. This fatalistic approach fails to explain the new dynamism of the Caribbean political structure. Recently, the Caribbean has witnessed the waning of charismatic leaders, the forming of coalition governments, the weakening of the trade union movement, and competition between and among the new elites, the economic elite, and the landed aristocracy. Peters's reliance on Darwinist philosophy hindered him from exploring the jockeying for political power, and the demand placed on governments to solve social problems. His data and analysis appear to be somewhat dated, being largely devoted to political structures that existed in the Eastern Caribbean in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

In Chapter 5 the absence of Caribbean nationalism is traced to the lack of traditional ties with Africa. Peters argues that during colonialism most of the cultural values that emerged were predominantly British and that without a common regional goal, Caribbean integration has remained an elusive quest. The federation of 1958-62, for example, is said to have failed because Caribbean people never embraced the idea of nationalism and political unity. The chapter ends with a prediction that changes in the Eastern Caribbean will be gradual, moderate, and predictable.

Chapter 6 summarizes the major findings of the book. Proposing that Caribbean people are opposed to any political system that seeks to limit their personal and political freedom, Peters argues that the evaluation of political and democratic developments in the region must take into account the size, ethnicity, history, enslavement, cultures, and definition of the situation that exist within the region.

The author rejects dependency theory, relying instead on modernity, institutionalism, and democracy theories, which allow him to study each country or sub-group of countries independently. This approach is evident throughout the book, though there are several points at which the author relies excessively on the evolutionary theory approach. In addition, his focus on British domination and colonialism prevents him from exploring other intervening variables. For example, examples of the "African democratic model" could have been used to see if there are some carryovers or similarities with the Eastern Caribbean democratic model.

The Democratic System in the Eastern Caribbean is nevertheless well written and theoretically provocative, a book that Caribbean scholars, researchers, students, aspiring politicians, and elected officials will find useful and informative.

Defining Status: A Comprehensive Analysis of United States Territorial Relations. ARNOLD H. LIEBOWITZ. Boston & Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989. xxii + 757 pp. (Cloth NLG 350.00, US\$ 189.00)

PEDRO A. CABÁN
Department of Puerto Rican & Hispanic Caribbean Studies
Rutgers University
New Brunswick NJ 08902, U.S.A.

Arnold Liebowitz has written the most comprehensive and detailed study available on the history, evolution, and current problems of U.S. territorial relations. It is a sweeping text that examines in meticulous detail the legal reasoning and judicial underpinnings of U.S. territorial expansionism. The strength of this excellent study lies in providing a coherent and amply documented history of the political considerations that influenced judicial thought on how the United States government would address the issue of non-continental territories acquired through conquest or purchase. Its weakness lies in the treatment accorded the histories of the particular societies under U.S. control. However, this study does not purport to be a comparative analysis of the territories. Rather, it is a text designed to influence the prevailing thinking on how U.S. territorial policy has affected the formation and development of these societies. In addition, the author provides a refreshingly candid set of recommendations on policy changes that should be enacted to permit colonized peoples to develop their potential as autonomous societies. The available literature on U.S.

Authors should submit their article manuscripts to:

Gert Oostindie
KITLV
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
fax (0)71-272638.

(Correspondence regarding) book reviews should be sent to:

Richard & Sally Price
Anse Chaudière
97217 Anses d'Arlet
Martinique
fax 596-686767.

Authors of articles will receive two free copies of the *NWIG* issue concerned, reviewers one copy. Publishers of books reviewed will receive an offprint of the relevant review.

All contributions (articles and reviews) should be double-spaced throughout, with ample margins, and should be submitted in two copies. Articles accepted for publication should be submitted on computer disk as well (Macintosh MS Word, or IBM WordPerfect).

For spelling and punctuation, please consult the latest edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press) and *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*. Notes should be placed at the end of the text.

Bibliographical references should be included in the text in parentheses, and should indicate author's last name, date of publication, and (if relevant) page numbers – e.g., (Teenstra 1842:12). Full bibliographical information should be listed at the end of the article as REFERENCES, as in the following examples:

for books:

TEENSTRA, M.D., 1842. *De negerslaven in de kolonie Suriname en de uitbreiding van het christendom onder de heidensche bevolking*. Dordrecht: Lagerweij.

for edited books:

WHITTEN, NORMAN E., JR. & JOHN F. SZWED (eds.), 1970. *Afro-American Anthropology*. New York: Free Press.

for journal articles:

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J., 1931. On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo. *West-Indische Gids* 12:545-57.

for contributions to edited books:

BASTIDE, ROGER, 1974. The Present Status of Afro-American Research in Latin America. In Sidney W. Mintz (ed.), *Slavery, Colonialism, and Racism*. New York: Norton, pp. 111-23.

Photos and line drawings should be submitted in the form of glossy prints, with captions typed on a separate page.

The *NWIG* does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in its pages; such responsibility rests exclusively with its authors.

NWIG ADVERTISING RATES:

Full-page	NLG 400
Half-page	NLG 225
Quarter-page	NLG 125

Exchange agreements with other journals or publishers are also invited.

American Samoa, the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana, and the Freely Associated States of Micronesia. Liebowitz should be complimented for providing this highly readable comparative assessment of the distinct colonial histories of these societies. While the available literature on Puerto Rico is vast, the same cannot be said for the other territories. Liebowitz has provided a focused assessment of the history of U.S. territorial relations, and those who have studied Puerto Rico's colonial status have much to gain from his analysis of comparative territorial policy.

This book is richly documented, and the arsenal of primary and secondary sources Liebowitz has marshaled is impressive. One of the most disappointing aspects of the book is the lack of a detailed bibliography, though it does provide a selected annotated bibliography that will be useful to the general reader seeking more information on the particular countries. To my knowledge the only available comparative study of U.S. global territorial relations, this is an important reference work for those who are unacquainted with the intricacies of U.S. territorial policy, as well as the specialist who may need to develop an appreciation for the comparative legal and political basis for U.S. colonial policy.

Mass Media and the Caribbean. STUART H. SURLIN & WALTER C. SODERLUND (eds.). New York: Gordon & Breach, 1990. xviii + 471 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00, Paper US\$ 30.00)

JOHN O. STEWART
Department of African-American & African Studies
University of California
Davis CA 95616, U.S.A.

This is volume 6 in the series of Caribbean Studies edited by Roberta Marx Delson. In keeping with the series' focus on socio-historical, economic, and political issues, the work in this volume is concerned with the history of mass media in the Caribbean, the relationship of media to local politics and culture, and the role played by media in the sphere of Caribbean international relations. The book is divided into two parts. Each part is introduced by editorial comments. There is an afterword, as well as author and subject indexes. The twenty-six authors include Caribbean Studies luminaries such as John Lent, Frank Manning, and Marlene Cuthbert.

Part 1 consists of fourteen independent chapters, designed as succinct

surveys of mass media facilities in individual societies. It roams from Cuba to the tiny islands of the Netherlands Antilles, albeit with the curious omission of Martinique and Dominica, two islands that are politically significant in the region. Of the fourteen chapters, the first eight deal with English-speaking societies. Three chapters are devoted to Spanish-speaking societies, and three to Dutch- and French-speaking societies.

Part 2, which addresses "International and Regional Media Issues," includes thirteen chapters organized around three topics: "international influences on Caribbean media," "international coverage of the Caribbean," and "Caribbean media: radio and music."

All of the surveys in Part 1 address the problematic issues of ownership, management, the media role in cultural development, and the relationship between politics and the media. Though uneven in their development and varied in their emphases, these surveys comprise altogether a decent compendium on media facilities around the region. Newspapers, radio stations, and television stations are cited for each of the societies surveyed. These three media forms are recognized as the principal structures for mass communications, and the historical information on the emergence of print journalism in particular is one of the better features of the book. The radio and newspaper have been the principal means for cultivating mass audiences across the region. These two media have traditionally played a dominant role in the construction and maintenance of social power. Lately, however, this hegemony is being challenged by television broadcasting and the availability of the video cassette recorder.

There seems to be agreement among researchers that along with serving as a medium for passing on information necessary to the functioning of local institutions, and registering local civic values, mass media also poses a threat to the sustenance of local culture by serving as an open channel to ideas, values, and advertising from abroad. This is a repeated theme in the surveys, linked (although this is not developed to a sufficient extent) to the perpetual circumstance of overseas domination in the Caribbean – a region of perceived fragile, consumer societies that traditionally generate little financial or technological capital. Financing and technology are overseas resources. With them come a flow of ideas and values that co-opt the developmental space for local culture and therefore threaten its existence. Television and the VCR are cited as technological developments that exacerbate this condition, and in doing so set the stage for continued and accelerated alienation between economic classes given the cost of this technology on the local market.

Given what one contributor to this volume terms the absence of an academic subculture of media researchers (p. 52) and the underdevelop-

ment of mass communication studies in the region, this volume fills a useful function in presenting a more or less region-wide survey, and in articulating an outline of the discourses a developed regional curriculum might usefully engage. Mass media has had an uneven development from society to society within the Caribbean. Yet certain relationships between media and other social-cultural elements show an historical consistency. Just as Caribbean societies are at different stages in their technological development and evolution as independent states, so too mass media facilities throughout the region are undergoing a transformation in technology and perspective that may best be described as a shift away from elitist concerns toward public self-consciousness and a central role in the informed development of local societies. This transformation is, however, seriously marked by the varying survival of influences linked with the recent colonial heritage. Most significant among these are the self-serving character of local politicians, and the exaltation of overseas programs and interests. In these mostly tiny societies, such conditions make for locally complex relationships and quick, decentering changes that can render survey research difficult and subject to rapid obsolescence.

The essays in Part 2 elaborate specific themes taken from the survey in Part 1. One view emerging from the four essays on international influences on Caribbean media is that the condition of technological and institutional dependency, and the social and cultural consequences of such dependency, render Caribbean media a vulnerable and foreign dominated entity that is in some ways more of a threat than a service to the region. Another, however, shows that cultural imports play a secondary role in affecting cultural identity, especially in solidly-based cultures. This view returns the people themselves to the center of the equation, and culture is understood not as a determined product of mass media, but the result of choices and desires constructed out of life's full range of experiences.

In the five essays dealing with international press coverage of the Caribbean variation is shown to be heavily influenced by the ideological stances prevalent from country to country, while the topics of significance are all of a political nature. The essayists don't engage the possible meanings of this pattern, but clearly, the international press has no interest in social, cultural, or artistic activities in the Caribbean – an aspect of imperialist attitudes that warrants some examination. Recent trends in radio and popular music are taken up in the last four essays of the collection, and once again we encounter "politics" as the topic of two of these essays: calypso and politics and reggae and politics. The image of the Caribbean as a region where politics constitute the principal news is not restricted to international press coverage. It is a product of the editorial

perspective in this book as well. One chapter provides a succinct history of the development and success of the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) and another on talk shows in Jamaica radio points to the success of this new format in the region.

Although a discussion of major analytical concepts is listed as one of the editorial goals in Part 1, there is very little conceptual analysis in these chapters. Indeed, it is difficult to recognize what the major concepts of concern might be. Local media operations are summarily identified as liberal, democratic, nationalist, socialist, etc., and the analysis of the relations between mass media and local political culture is quite good in several chapters, but this is all presented in terms of historical occurrences and their practical effects. A difficulty here might be the absence of fit between major analytical concepts in the study of mass communication, as that field has emerged at metropolitan universities, and the actual detail of Caribbean life and culture. While other writers struggle to repair the gap, or ignore the editorial direction altogether, one at least (p. 55) notes that "set models of national mass media systems do not describe adequately the situation" in his society. In other instances, the discussion of concepts takes place mostly in parentheses, or in the endnotes following individual chapters.

A range of models or concepts that took local Caribbean culture as their well-spring might have taken some other mass communication media – such as textbooks and carnivals – into account, and developed the discourse on the threat to local cultural identity. While its necessary fragility seems taken for granted, a principal characteristic of Caribbean culture – as indeed of all living cultures – is adaptability. Cultural pluralism is far from new in the Caribbean, and Caribbean peoples are quite practiced in diversifying their cultural expectations and relationships.

In addition, while the integrity of unique local cultural systems might be a focal point for the recognition of national identity, the homogeneous fit between nation and culture is already being recognized as an inadequate concept. As Roland Robertson (1992:57-58) has written,

One of the most pressing tasks ... is to confront the issue of the undoubted salience of the unitary nation state ... and at the same time to acknowledge its uniqueness, in a sense its abnormality ... The homogeneous nation state ... is a construction of a particular form of life. That we ourselves have been increasingly subject to its constraints does not mean that for analytical purposes it has to be accepted as *the* departure point for analyzing and understanding the world.

REFERENCE

ROBERTSON, ROLAND, 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Power and Television in Latin America: The Dominican Case. ANTONIO V. MENÉNDEZ ALARCÓN. Westport CT: Praeger, 1992. 199 pp. (Cloth US\$ 47.95)

WILLIAM J. MELTZER
Department of Anthropology
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor MI 48109, U.S.A.

Antonio Menéndez's enlightening study of television and power in the Dominican Republic is an major step toward understanding television's contribution to processes of social reproduction in the modern world.

Menéndez draws his data from interviews and field observations conducted in 1989 and 1990 in television networks and viewers' homes, as well as from content analyses of newscasts and other programs. He has produced a well-written book that fulfills its aim "to reveal the nature of the interdependent relationships between television and the structures of power, and the effects of these relations on television content" (p. 5). Rooted in a political economy perspective, the study views television as an instrument of cultural hegemony wielded by the dominant class, and argues that television's ideological and informative content is directly linked to the conditions of its production and the ownership and control of the medium.

Following a brief theoretical introduction, the book outlines the development of the Dominican television industry from a dictator's tool in the 1950s to a complex of private (six) and state (one) networks broadcasting

into some 65 percent of Dominican homes. After establishing that ownership of the industry is concentrated among members of the power elite that dominates high political offices and the bulk of the economy, Menéndez analyzes how both the organization of the industry and wider patterns of economic and political power mold television's content. Throughout, he bears in mind that the television networks (with the partial exception of the state network) are "commercial enterprises in a capitalist economic system" (p. 28) whose principal purpose is to generate profits.

Among the matters he illuminates are the standardization of television's content under commercial imperatives to attract large audiences, and the influence of producers', programmers', and advertisers' perceptions of audiences' tastes on the manufacture of mass culture; the promotion in most programs of both business-oriented values (such as consumerism and cupidity) and an individualistic perspective toward success and social problems; the subordination of the journalistic information ethic to market dictates, leading – along with the mainstream values of most network staff and their mindfulness of owners' interests – to superficial, uncritical newscasts; and television's importance to election campaigns, particularly its amplification of the financial advantages enjoyed by conservative parties and its demagoguery-fostering emphasis on personalities over issues.

Menéndez's main conclusions are that the overriding effect of television is to promote consumerism as the central cultural value, and that this consumerism, combined with television's endorsement of the business ethic as the basis of Dominican society, helps perpetuate the economic and political patterns that benefit network owners and other members of the power elite. Importantly, network owners rarely intrude directly into the production processes of this hegemonic medium: more than any deliberate intent to control television's message, it is the drive for profits that shapes television's content.

Detracting somewhat from the book's many informative points and insights are a few, mostly minor, shortcomings (e.g., many index references being two pages off, an audience sample restricted in size and geography, and the absence of a brief orientation to the Dominican Republic's size, location, population, general socio-cultural contours, etc.).

One weakness (magnified perhaps by my anthropological penchant for ethnographic detail) is that although Menéndez's field observations yielded "data rich in details and subtlety" (p. 168), most of this information (and that from his interviews) appears as generalized statements rather than concrete examples. For instance, reference is made to powerful figures, angered by particular newscasts "exert[ing] repressive measures against members of the network staff" (p. 160). An illustrative case here –

and in many other instances – would have enriched the book, evoked more of the Dominican context, and, by clarifying their bases, strengthened various inferences drawn by Menéndez.

The book's most serious deficiency is that neither race nor gender figures in the main analyses, and each receives but scant attention in the discussions of advertising and the construction of consumer culture and aesthetic tastes. Yet it is hard to imagine Dominican politics, for instance, without the racial currents that color so much political discourse, and ignoring them in an analysis of a televised campaign (the 1990 elections) is a major oversight. Indeed, many scholars would argue that racial and gender hierarchies are integral to the political and economic structures of most if not all societies in the region; hence, these issues deserve at least some discussion, if only to justify their absence from the central analyses.

Nonetheless, as an informative case study with theoretical importance, this book is a valuable contribution to the scholarship of Latin America, the Caribbean, politics, cultural hegemony, and mass media. Inasmuch as the conditions that surround the Dominican television industry – commercial networks, significant economic and political inequalities, a capitalist economy, and a public dependent upon television for much of its entertainment and information – exist in much of the world, its findings have relevance well beyond its geographic scope.